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THE CASE FOR PROHIBITION

ITS PAST, PRESENT ACCOMPLISHMENTS, AND FUTURE IN AMERICA

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By

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AND

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DEDICATED

To *BISHOP WILLIAM FRASER McDOWELL*

In Counsel Far-Seeing and wise
In Work Faithful and Self-Forgetting
In Friendship Consummate and Sincere.

206715

FOREWORD

THE merits of prohibition have been greatly obscured by propaganda and controversy. In this book the authors attempt to afford the average man, who wishes to clarify his ideas, a look at the question "in the round." Some space is allotted to a recital of the development of the prohibition movement. The method by which the federal constitutional amendment was submitted and ratified is discussed in such a way as to indicate the fairness or lack of fairness with which the work was accomplished. Particular attention has been given to paragraphic refutation of certain oft-repeated charges against the policy of prohibition. The book as a whole, however, is intended to convince right-thinking and fair-minded people that prohibition is a policy of value to the country as a whole; that it has contributed largely to the raising of the standard of living and the happiness of the masses; that it is es-

sential to the best interests of legitimate trade; that in our opinion, only greed and selfishness or a total lack of comprehension of the facts can lead any one to desire its destruction.

In the general discussion of the question today scant attention is paid to the possible result of the substitution of some other form of alcoholic trade for distribution other than through the saloon. The book tries to show the enormous and evil consequences of the restoration of the trade in alcholic beverages no matter what the method of distribution. We ask a careful reading of this book, believing that it will lead you to a patient tolerance of the present shortcomings in the enforcement of a policy which is really undergoing a process of evolutionary development. We look forward confidently to that day when alcohol will be a negligible factor in American life and when its absence will be indicated by a greatly enlarged horizon of happiness.

THE AUTHORS.

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I

HISTORY OF THE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT

I

HISTORY OF THE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT

DRINK followed the flags of half a score of nations from the old world to the new. Beer by the tun came with the Pilgrim; hogsheads of wine with the Cavaliers. Drink debauched the forest Indian, sprinkled the colonies with ne'er-do-wells, very nearly destroyed the Church in various colonies, and obstructed the administration of justice throughout the length of the Atlantic Coast. There were statutes on the books of practically all colonies intended to lessen the drink evil, to keep alcohol away from the Indians, to insure the sobriety of ministers and of judges. The railroads and vast industrial establishments of the nineteenth century were not the first to realize the serious economic effects of alcohol consumption; long before, the colonial assemblies had enacted laws to prevent servants from loitering, drinking, or idling around public

inns. The master might waste his character and dissipate his energy taking observations through the bottom of a glass, but the strength and skill of humbler members of society was held worthy of conservation. And yet they drank, until in the end the worthlessness and idleness which they had swallowed with the drink was let out in streams of blood at the whipping-post.

In that day there was practical free trade in liquors. The man who entered the grocery store in colonial days might step to the whisky barrel and draw into a mug enough whisky to make him dead drunk and all for a small coin or perhaps no coin at all. It cost less than a shilling to make a gallon of strong liquor. Indeed the moonshine liquor which is retailed as pre-war stuff to-day costs very little more than that to make. Our forefathers could not raise a house, harvest a field of grain, or have a "shindig" without drink and plenty of it, and frequently these affairs broke up in bloody riots.

The Virginia Colonial Assembly in 1629 passed a law that ministers "shall not give themselves to excess in drinkinge or riotte or

spending their tyme idellye by day or night." In 1676 the same colony provided that justices who got drunk on court days should be fined 500 pounds of tobacco for the first offense and on the third should forfeit their position, while ministers who became drunk should be fined half of their salary and on their third offense be stripped of their ministerial rights. Before ever the Pilgrims had raised the sails of the *Mayflower,* the gentlemen who had followed John Smith to Jamestown were finding that the gold of their dreams must be located in the rich tobacco-growing soil and would not come tumbling into their laps while they sat idle in taverns. The *Mayflower* itself brought more than ample supplies of drink to New England, and the colonists provided by legislation for the convenient distribution and retail of alcoholic liquors. As early as 1667, Massachusetts found itself confronted with the corruption in the beer trade which in recent years caused a distinguished company of farmers to declare that "malt beer is now extinct in America." Massachusetts ordered that beer should be made with "five bushels of good barley to the

hogshead," without any mixture or adulteration.

The drink trade then as now was found in close association with other reprehensible trades. In 1734 Rhode Island sent eighteen vessels to Africa laden with rum in exchange for slaves, and this became a common practise from New England ports. As early as the middle of the eighteenth century colonial society became seriously concerned over the problem. In 1734 Georgia prohibited the importation of rum, but this prohibition was overridden by Parliament in 1742, a bit of tyranny which was typical of the mounting irritations that brought about the Revolution. In 1744 the grand jury of which that great philosopher Benjamin Franklin was a member protested in Philadelphia against the enormous increase in public houses, which, it reported, comprised "near a tenth part of the city."

The critical period of American history following the Revolutionary War was made still more critical by the ill effects of drink upon the population. In 1810, just two years before the second War for Independence, the

per capita consumption of distilled liquor in the United States was four and four-sevenths gallons, and there were 14,191 distilleries in the land. The alcohol content of this per capita liquor consumption amounted to approximately two gallons for every man, woman, and child in the States.

Wine and beer propagandists to-day point with exultation to the fact that Thomas Jefferson urged establishment of breweries in the new world in order to combat this flood of distilled liquors. In so doing, Jefferson represented the extreme temperance sentiment of his day. He asserted that the evil of ardent spirits "kills one-third of our citizens and ruins their families," and he advocated taxing whisky out of existence. He was the first one to secure the passage of a national prohibitory law, which in that case applied to the Indians. When all the circumstances of the day are taken into consideration, Jefferson may be claimed as one of the fathers of the prohibition movement. In 1789, during the time of Jefferson's ardent espousement of the cause of temperance, the General Conference of the Methodist Church, which is certainly

quite as radically dry to-day as any other organization in existence, condemned the practise of distilling, but said nothing of brewing. Even so late as 1812 this "cold water and prohibition" church rejected in its General Conference the resolution of Reverend James Axley that "no stationed or local preacher should retail spirituous or malt liquors without forfeiting his ministerial character among us"; altho, by 1816, sufficient progress had been made to cause the Conference to accept the very resolution it had rejected four years before.

Consider the facts of the day: nothing was known of the true character of alcohol, beer, or wine. The scientific facts upon which the anti-alcoholist to-day bases his statement that alcohol in any form as a beverage is a physiological curse were altogether unknown. There was no organized beer trade corrupting the press, subsidizing authors, linking hands with associations of foreign citizens, spending vast sums for political corruption, and betraying the country in time of war. Indeed, the modern prohibitionist has little quarrel with Jefferson's application of the wine and beer

theory to the situation he faced. The growth of the beer trade, while it inflicted upon the country economic and institutional evils which Jefferson could not foresee, did reduce the consumption of alcohol from the high figure of Jefferson's time. In 1810 the alcohol consumption was about two gallons per capita annually. By 1904 it had fallen to about 1.60 per capita. In Jefferson's day the consumption of beer reduced the consumption of alcohol. In our day the consumption of beer promoted by all the advertising devices of this generation, increased the consumption of alcohol. We are fully justified in believing that the great author of the Declaration of Independence, if he were alive to-day, would be exactly where he was more than a century ago—in the very forefront of radical temperance thought—and that position to-day would make him an uncompromising prohibitionist. The light of experience throws its ray much further than it did at the beginning of the nineteenth century and not only Jefferson but other American patriots of his day were men whose vision searched the far limits of disclosed truth.

Doctor Benjamin Rush

One of the immortal names appended to the Declaration of Independence was that of Doctor Benjamin Rush, a Pennsylvanian who deserves to be mentioned in company with Benjamin Franklin. Rush was one of the most prominent physicians of his day, a man of scientific and philosophical mind, a citizen of prestige and a devoted lover of liberty. By common consent he is conceded to be the father of the anti-alcohol movement in America, and yet the position taken by him was not so advanced as that taken by Jefferson. His greater impress upon the initial period of the movement is attributed to the publication in 1785 of his famous pamphlet, "An inquiry into the effects of ardent spirits upon the human body and mind." The moment was psychological, and the pamphlet produced a profound impression. The Revolution itself had been imperiled by drunkenness. The unseemly profligacy of society was a matter of grave concern to those fathers of the Republic who knew that the nation could not be established unless the Revolution was to

be succeeded by a period of profound devotion to public duty, ready sacrifice in private life, and faultless leadership of the mass of the people by those more fortunately placed.

During the Revolution the Continental Congress in session at Philadelphia had appealed to the several colonial assemblies to pass effective laws to stop distilling. Circuit riders and self-sacrificing ministers were day and night in the saddle holding religious meetings in small log houses and urging the rude frontier population to live lives of temperance and devotion to principle.

The teachings of Dr. Rush were marked by that ultra-conservatism which has characterized the temperance movement from its beginning. In regard to this movement it may be said truly that the American people have not been willing to try the right way until they have tried and discarded every possible wrong way. Rush had convinced the people that something must be done, and there was a flow of thought prompted which in the ensuing discussion made itself felt in various ways and in different directions. Alexander Hamilton proposed that the sale of distilled

liquors be handicapped, and the Treasury assisted, by the imposition of special taxes. A tax of eleven cents a gallon on spirits distilled from foreign materials was imposed and resulted in the whisky rebellion in Pennsylvania. This rebellion George Washington suppressed with characteristic promptness, altho it cost the nation one and a half million dollars, a great sum for those days.

Dr. Billy James Clark, another distinguished physician of that day, had been profoundly impressed with the teachings of Dr. Rush, and in 1808 he formed the first temperance society in America. The fact that the people of that day failed to realize the inherent character of the evil with which they were trying to deal is evidenced by the pledge taken by the members of Dr. Clark's society:

"No member shall drink rum, gin, whisky, or any distilled spirits or composition of the same or any of them, except by the advice of a physician or in case of actual disease, also except at public dinners, under the penalty of twenty-five cents, provided that this article shall not infringe on any religious rite; no members shall be intoxicated under a penalty

of fifty cents; and no member shall offer any of the above liquors to any person, to drink thereof under the penalty of twenty-five cents for each offense."

The constitution of another temperance society organized about the same time provided that any member who became intoxicated should be fined two shillings "unless such act of intoxication take place on the fourth of July or some other regularly appointed military muster day"!

Very similar and equally interesting is the 1812 pledge of the Maine Temperance Society:

"We will be at all times sparing and cautious in the use of spirituous liquors at home, in social visits decline them so far as possible, avoid them totally in retailing stores, and in general set our faces against the intemperate use of them, conceiving as we do, that, except in a very few cases, as of medicinal use, spirituous liquors are the bane of morals and a drain on health, piety, and happiness."

These two pledges centralized the spirit and sentiment of the moderation stage of the

temperance movement, giving form and body to the generative work of Dr. Rush. In the early years of the nineteenth century they were more radical than the modern proposal of national prohibition. It was not until 1826 that the organized temperance forces became convinced that moderation in the use of spirituous liquors as a solution of the problem was impracticable.

The Pledge Signers

Take note that this first effort to deal with the drink problem in the United States proposed measures which were ludicrously inadequate. It may be said with strict regard for the truth that the temperance movement in this country began at the very bottom.

The first step had proven to be a misstep. Moderation in the use of distilled spirits effected no improvement in the national situation, for the simple reason that no man ever goes to the bar with the intention of getting drunk. As the Oriental philosopher said:

> "First, the man takes a drink,
> Then, the drink takes a drink,
> Then the drink takes the man."

The signers of the pledges of Billy Clark, the convinced disciples of Dr. Rush, went to barn raisings, ship launchings, house movings, corn huskings, funerals, weddings, baptisms, and drank—and drink drank—and the drinkers were drunk—not only on the military muster days but, unfortunately, on other days as well.

By 1826, when it had been decisively proven that moderation and strong liquors do not mix, the American Temperance Society was formed and a gigantic stride was made toward the solution of the liquor problem. This society called for total abstinence from "ardent spirits."

"We, whose names are hereunto annexed, believing that the use of ardent spirits as a drink, is not only needless, but harmful to the social, civil, and religious interests of men; that it tends to form intemperate appetites and habits, and that while it is continued the evils of intemperance can never be done away with; do, therefore, agree that we will not use or traffic in it; that we will not provide it as articles of entertainment or for persons in our employment, and that in all suitable ways

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we will discountenance the use of it in the community."

The pledge of the Andover Society in the same year is very similar and indicates the uniform progress of the movement:

"We, the subscribers, for the purpose of promoting our own welfare and that of the community, agree that we will abstain from the use of distilled spirits, except as a medicine for bodily infirmity; that we will not allow the use of them in our families, or provide them for the entertainment of our friends, or for persons in our employment; that in all suitable ways we will discountenance the use of them in the community."

These good people, sincere and intelligent temperance men, had in 1826 reached the exact point of progress in consideration of this subject which has only now been reached by the vociferous advocates of wine and beer. The arguments made to-day for the solution of the liquor problem by encouraging the consumption of wine and beer to the possible but improbable exclusion of distilled spirits are exactly the same arguments made by the forerunners of the prohibitionists in 1826.

The difference is that the men and women of that day were not belated. They were abreast of the latest experience. We can not say so much for the modern wine and beer advocate. The world of experience, the limitless research, the vast development which the world has seen during the nearly one hundred years since the pledge of the American Temperance Society, they know nothing of.

The signers of the 1826 pledge who did in fact abstain from whisky and brandy, drank enough beer and wine to give them the same amount of alcohol and were just as drunk as ever. Not only that, but many of them found that the constant tasting of alcohol in wine and beer kept the appetite alive, that these drinks were in fact mere "teazers," and by the thousands they turned once again to the more efficient "ardent spirits."

Then once again, about 1840, the temperance movement donned its seven-league boots and crossed whole mountains of difficulty and great streams of alcohol in one giant stride. The famous Washingtonian Society was organized in 1840 and a different type of abstainer strode upon the stage of the new

world. He was a total abstainer, better than that, he was a teetotal abstainer. He proposed to eliminate from his list of beverages, not only the stronger alcoholic liquors but beer, wine, and cider. The 1840 pledge of that society reads:

"We, whose names are annexed, desirous of forming a society for our mutual benefit to guard against a practise—a pernicious practise—which is injurious to our health and the standing of our families, do pledge ourselves as gentlemen that we will not drink any spirits, malt liquors, wine, or cider."

Teetotalism Takes the Field

In the meanwhile temperance societies had multiplied until it was estimated that there were in existence in the United States more than one thousand such organizations. It was a period of remarkable progress in the temperance movement. Men and women were thinking boldly and acting as they thought. The men who had pledged themselves to abstain observed that on every hand places of public convenience were maintained for the men who did not abstain and that

these places, protected by the laws of the United States, were maintained by men to whose economic advantage it was for the young to become addicted to alcohol, for the abstainer to abjure his pledge, for the weak to fall and the strong to be made weak. It began to be openly urged that it was wrong for the State to foster a traffic which resulted in increased crime, increased poverty, waste of public funds, and social disorder. The Washingtonian movement had produced a deep impression upon the country and in 1842 the Sons of Temperance pledged their members against the making and buying and *selling* of alcoholic beverages as well as the drinking of them. By 1847 this pledge was still further strengthened by the Order of Good Samaritans, who declared they would do everything they could to put a stop to the legalizing of a practise which was anti-social and injurious to the citizenship which a State was organized to protect. Their oath follows:

"I do furthermore promise that I will neither make, buy, nor use as a beverage any spirituous or malt liquors, wine, or cider; that I will discountenance the use and traffic in

alcoholic drinks of every kind; that I will use all moral and honorable means within my power to put a stop to the practise of legalizing the same, and will, so far as practicable, seek to reclaim the inebriate from the error of his ways."

What had prompted this rapid development in temperance sentiment? Why did the men and women who desired to see the evils of alcoholism reduced to a minimum throughout the country abandon first the principle of moderation in the use of ardent spirits; second, the principle of indulgence only in malt and vinous liquors; third, the principle of limitation of temperance effort to individual total abstinence and moral suasion? The development was due solely to increased knowledge of the character of alcohol and to the practical workings of the policies which had been tried.

What, in brief, is the character of alcohol? The men of the days of Dr. Rush believed it to be a good creature of God, harmful only in its abuse, not in its use. But as a generation passed they came more and more to understand that alcohol is what we of to-day

know it to be, a habit-forming, irritant, narcotic, a depressant drug useful for many mechanical, pharmaceutical, and scientific purposes, but not suitable for introduction into the human body except by advice and under the oversight of a doctor of medicine. Ethyl alcohol is produced by the decomposition of vegetable or animal matter by the alcohol ferment, which is a minute living organism, capable of assimilating food, eliminating waste products, growing, and multiplying. The alcohol is a waste-product or excretion of this organism. When the proportion of alcohol in a fermented liquor becomes 13.5 per cent., the ferment is poisoned and stronger liquors must be produced by distillation.

It is a universal rule of animal life that excreted matter is poisonous to the life which produces it and to all higher forms of life, and the excretion of the alcohol organism is not only poisonous to itself but to everything above it in the animal kingdom.

It was this truth which became known during the period just before the Civil War and resulted in the vigorous total abstinence and prohibition movement of that day.

General Neal Dow

And then, in 1849, truth found its champion; a man of fire and conviction, a man whose active life was to mark an epoch in the development of a nation. Neal Dow was elected mayor of Portland, Maine. By 1850, the consumption of distilled spirits had fallen to about two and one-half gallons per capita, but the consumption of beer had enormously increased and not only had the substitution of beer for whisky failed to make for temperance, but it had contributed to the situation new and peculiar difficulties in the form of institutional evils and trade iniquities which had never been known while whisky monopolized the market. It was in that year, 1850, that the Neal Dow prohibition measure was lost in the legislature of Maine by a tie vote. Throughout the entire northern half of the country prohibition sentiment, vague and groping, began to manifest clumsy power. Father Matthew was here from Ireland on his pledge-signing crusade. Various States enacted more stringent regulative measures. Vermont voted by a majority of thousands

against license. Michigan adopted a constitutional amendment prohibiting the licensing of the liquor trade. A prohibitory bill was introduced by its advocates into the New York legislature.

From the Atlantic to the Pacific, temperance organizations of the period were not slow to recognize the changing character of the trade, and they fell upon it with the early prohibition legislation which was so generally repealed, and which to-day is pointed to as a horrible example of the inefficiency of prohibitory laws.

The coincident change in the character of the drink trade and the temperance movement resulted during the period, roughly approximated by the decade of 1850-1860, in a mass of legislation, all termed prohibitory, which was "without form and void." These laws, blanketed by the one word "prohibition," differed from each other to an amazing degree and some of them would to-day be considered very mild regulative and restrictive measures. Students of the period to-day are not able to agree even as to the number of States which may be said to have had prohibition in the

mildest form. By some the figure is placed at twelve, by others as high as nineteen.

The most casual investigation shows the absurdity of attacking the highly efficient prohibition laws of to-day by pointing to the States which "tried and rejected prohibition" more than half a century ago. Illinois is often mentioned as such a State, but the Illinois prohibition law was subject to a referendum and was rejected by the people without being tried at all. The Indiana law was declared unconstitutional and had no trial. The New York law was overthrown by the courts after operating for a brief time, during which, however, it produced results which prompted Governor M. H. Clark to inform the legislature of 1856: "The influence (of the law) is visible in a marked diminution of the evils which it sought to remedy."

The Michigan "prohibition" law in its final form permitted the sale of beer, wine, and cider, and the New Hampshire law, while prohibiting the sale, permitted the manufacture. Ohio's constitutional provision forbade the State to license the traffic, but the sale of liquors was never prohibited; and yet

Ohio is included in the list of States which, we are told, "tried and rejected prohibition."

Other "prohibition" laws limited their prohibition to the consumption of liquors on the premises of sale; some only fixed a minimum quantity which might be sold, and several prohibited the traffic in ardent spirits without molesting the traffic in beer, wine, and cider. Certain States forbade the sale within State bounds but permitted the manufacture for exportation.

No machinery for the enforcement of the law was provided and the usual fine was $10! Contrast these "prohibitions," with their fines—which in practise were not fines at all—and their exemptions, exceptions, and distortions, with the modern laws of North Dakota, Kansas, Arizona, Idaho, and North Carolina, laws in which the chain-gang and the penitentiary, hard labor and heavy fines, ouster provisions and the search and seizure hold place. Contrast them with the Volstead Act!

It is perhaps not strange that these laws were ill-considered and not tamped firmly with educational propaganda, in view of the fact

that they came when a sectional war was about to break over the country. They were fated not to have the benefit of evolutionary processes. As they gave way, one by one, the liquor traffic began to feed strong upon the day of the country's weakness. The principle of taxation by the Federal Government inevitably involved the suggestion of permission, protection, and promotion, and with the inevitable result that the organization of the trade rapidly assumed the character of a strong defensive alliance and a still stronger alliance for aggression.

Progress Toward Prohibition

For the tavern of former days with its minimum of abuses there began to be substituted a centralized and highly efficient trade, using every device of modernity to exploit human weakness; corrupting government, business, and sources of common information; laying its finger upon the lips of politicians, fostering vice, promoting gambling, and handing a part of the proceeds to the Treasurer of the Federal Government. The immigration which followed hard upon the heels

of the Civil War, came from countries where no prejudice against alcohol existed, and with it came a beer invasion which resulted in an enormous increase in the use of the bulky liquors which loomed so large in the statistics of the later license days.

Then began the "nibbling" process by which the temperance forces hoped to eat into the strength of their enemy.

In the darkest days of prohibition reform, to be exact, on September 1, 1869, the Prohibition Party was organized to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President and other offices. The principle upon which the Prohibition Party was founded was that this is a government of political parties, and that the executive, judicial, and legislative branches, as well as the State and Federal governments, can not be united in opposition to the liquor traffic except by the victory of a political party pledged to the prohibition policy. The party was composed of men and women of staunch character and intelligence. In thirteen campaigns it stood up to be knocked down without the hope of reward or recognition of heroism.

The Women's Christian Temperance Union, "the sober second thought" of the women's crusade of the Seventies, was organized in 1874. By organization, education, and evangelism it carried forward the work of temperance sentiment in a thousand cities and hamlets.

The Anti-Saloon League of America, which called itself "the Church in action" against the saloon, came into existence in the early Nineties for the purpose of crystallizing temperance sentiment into law by working through all parties, avoiding affiliation with any, and maintaining strict neutrality on questions of public policy not immediately concerned with the drink traffic. The League, which has been abused almost without measure, was after all the direct result of sentiment in the churches, and the "professional reformers" who have led it have, in the majority of cases, been men pushed into places of leadership by the rank and file of the prohibition forces.

In various ways, each in its own peculiar sphere, these and other organizations contributed to the revival and growth of the prohibition movement. They trained them-

selves in methods, perfected themselves in the writing of statutes, inquired diligently after every weakness in their program. The clearing away of the imperfect, ill-established prohibitory laws of 1850-60 had left the new movement unhampered by tradition and precedent.

Experimentation in restrictive legislation proved to be a process of elimination. The prohibition of chairs, screens, tables, music, free lunches, and games in saloons soon convinced the people that *it was the alcohol* in the saloons and *not the chairs* which was doing the damage. Low license failed and high license only provided a strong motive for political corruption and the addition of vicious money-making features. Sunday closing and short hours did not suffice as a remedy. Local option and "home rule" were tested, but local option threw the county and city into direct conflict with a trade nationally organized; so that "home rule" proved to be "money rule," and outside money rule at that.

Upon the wreckage of these experiments arose a mighty sentiment for State and National prohibition. Only Kansas, North

Dakota, and Maine had prohibition laws in the year 1907, but during that year the moment became ripe and was plucked. There had been a generation of scientific temperance instruction in the public schools. The alchohol experiments of the German universities had produced a profound impression upon American thought. The strong opposition of eminent British physicians to the drink custom had reacted upon American medical opinion. The saloon had become intolerable and the resentment against prevailing corruption was close akin to resentment against the traffic which was largely responsible for it.

In the cities the saloons had climbed on from arrogance to arrogance. Big business, concerned with the efficiency of its labor and the conservation of the public's buying power, began to turn against the licensed bar. Temperance organizations showed a disposition to get together, sink their differences in union, and consult on those methods of practical organization which would bring final achievement.

And so in that year prohibition began once more to ride a waxing tide. But it was not

the prohibition of 1850. By 1920 if any recalcitrant official thought it within his power to nullify a State prohibition law, he was quickly "ousted." In Idaho the law prohibits even the possession of alcoholic liquors except that wine may be possessed for sacramental purposes and pure alcohol for scientific and mechanical purposes. In several States there are men in the penitentiary for their first offense of "boot-legging," and there are in some States laws which permit a place of business to be padlocked if alcohol is found on the premises. There is as much similarity between the early and latter prohibitory legislation as there is between a continental flintlock musket and the more recent 24-centimeter howitzer.

The Champion of Fair Play, the organ of the retail liquor dealers of Illinois, in the autumn of 1913 seemed to be seized with a fit of depression and published the following remarkable editorial:

"Sneering talk about the fighters against intoxicants has gone out of use. So much gain has been made since the time of Neal Dow in Maine that the liquor dealers and

advocates have for some time acknowledged themselves on the run.

"Not many years ago it was considered by a majority of people in many communities, that the best policy was to let the liquor traffic alone. That drinking liquor was as necessary to the living of most men as eating nourishing food; or, if not exactly so, it was so natural that to meddle with any degree of success with the drinker or the dealer in intoxicants was an insurmountable task, but now the best of our people are letting go such a theory and are believing that this nation will ere long become saloonless.

"Our present Congress contains many members who would vote, if they had the chance, to pass a law submitting a constitutional prohibition amendment. The Southern States are furnishing an increasing number of members and the belief is that success will crown their efforts.

"At the same time local option is in so many communities that the liquor dealers are acknowledging that to stem the tide is an impossible job."

And while the liquor-trade press has never

acknowledged that prohibition laws have been vindicated by their operation, they have repeatedly recognized the fact that the people living in prohibition territory consider the policy successful. In June, 1915, *Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Circular* said:

"Let any one visit the homes and clubs of Maine, Kansas, Oklahoma, North Dakota, Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina, or any other so-called prohibitory State and he is impressed with the sentiment in favor of prohibition and the belief that prohibition is working wonders for society."

The statement is and was correct. If it be true that a thing may be established by heavy preponderance of testimony, the case for prohibition was proven years before the federal Congress submitted the federal prohibition amendment. By 1914 it was not possible to poll any entire business or professional class in any prohibition State and secure a consensus favorable to the return of the license system. The Research Department of the Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church made frequent comprehensive inves-

tigations as to the operation of State prohibition. The reports received may be summarized as follows:

In every State which went dry, petty crime has been greatly decreased.

Serious crime has been decreased.

There is a notable decrease in beggary and acute poverty.

Property formerly used for saloon purposes was rented for legitimate business with only slight delay.

In the majority of cases liquor manufacturing property was diverted to wholesome uses, using more raw material and employing more men.

There is a notable increase in buying power and much greater activity in retail business.

Bank clearings are larger and savings accounts much more numerous.

There is no more bootlegging or blind-pigging than in the license days, and in some cases there is much less.

The consumption of liquor has been reduced from 85 to 95 per cent.

In no case have taxes been made higher

by prohibition; in some cases they are lower, and in many cases approximately the same.

In no case at all are State finances in worse condition because of the loss of license revenue; in some cases bad conditions inherited from the license period have been corrected.

The sentiment of business men in every prohibition State of the entire country is overwhelmingly in favor of the policy and this sentiment is increasing in strength constantly.

These results were achieved and favoring sentiment established in not only one section of the country. The East was represented, the West was there with few States missing, the South was overwhelmingly dry. The table on the following page shows the comprehensive country-wide character of prohibition achievement before its logical consummation in the Volstead Act, and the table includes thirty-two States which went dry by their own action and a thirty-third State, Kentucky, which went dry by State prohibition after Congress had submitted the federal amendment:

STATE ACTION ON PROHIBITION

State	Law Passed	Law In Effect	Votes For	Votes Against	Majority
Alabama	Jan. 14, 1915	July 1, 1915		Legislat.	
Arizona[1]	Nov. 3, 1914	Jan. 1, 1915	25,887	22,743	3,144
Arkansas[2]	Jan. 5, 1915	Jan. 1, 1916		Legislat.	
Colorado	Nov. 3, 1914	Jan. 1, 1916	129,589	118,017	11,572
Florida	Nov. 5, 1918	Jan. 1, 1919	Popular vote		8,242
Georgia	Aug. 6, 1907	Jan. 1, 1908		Legislat.	
Idaho[3]	Feb. 1915	Jan. 1, 1916		Legislat.	
Indiana	Feb. 2, 1917	Apr. 2, 1918		Legislat.	
Iowa	Feb. 1915	Jan. 1, 1916		Legislat.	
Kansas	Nov. 2, 1880	Nov. 23, 1880	92,302	84,304	7,998
Kentucky	Nov. 4, 1919	June 30, 1920			10,717
Maine[4]	1851	1851		Legislat.	
Michigan	Nov. 6, 1916	May 1, 1918	353,378	284,754	68,624
Mississippi	Feb. 1, 1908	Dec. 1, 1908		Legislat.	
Montana	Nov. 7, 1916	Jan. 1, 1919	102,776	73,890	28,886
Nebraska	Nov. 7, 1916	May 1, 1917	146,574	117,132	29,442
Nevada	Nov. 5, 1918	Dec. 16, 1918	13,248	9,060	4,188
New Hampshire	Apr. 11, 1917	May 1, 1918		Legislat.	
New Mexico	Nov. 6, 1917	Oct. 1, 1918	28,735	12,147	16,588
North Carolina	May 1908	July 1, 1908	113,612	69,416	44,196
North Dakota	Oct. 1, 1889	Nov. 2, 1889	18,552	17,393	1,159
Ohio	Nov. 5, 1918	May 27, 1919	463,654	437,895	25,759
Oklahoma		Nov. 17, 1907	130,361	112,258	18,103
Oregon[5]	Nov. 3, 1914	Jan. 1, 1916	136,842	100,362	36,480
South Carolina	Sept. 14, 1915	Dec. 31, 1915	41,735	16,809	24,926
South Dakota	Nov. 7, 1916	July 1, 1917	64,867	53,092	11,775
Tennessee	Jan. 1909	July 1, 1909		Legislat.	
Texas[6]	Mar 16, 1918	June 26, 1918		Legislat.	
Utah[7]	Feb. 8, 1917	Aug. 1, 1917		Legislat.	
Virginia	Sept. 2, 1914	Nov. 1, 1916	94,251	63,886	30,365
Washington	Nov. 3, 1914	Jan. 1, 1916	189,840	171,208	18,632
West Virginia	Nov. 1912	July 1, 1914	164,945	72,603	92,342
Wyoming	Nov. 5, 1918	Jan. 1, 1920	31,407	10,206	21,201

[1] Law overthrown by State Supreme Court as unconstitutional; on Nov. 7, 1916, the voters amended the constitution giving prohibition twice the majority first received.

[2] Under initiative liquor interests forced vote on repeal of this law at election Nov. 7, 1916; this repeal effort was defeated by 50,000 majority.

[3] On Nov. 7, 1916, the people made prohibition constitutional by a vote of 3 to 1.

[4] Made constitutional in 1884 by vote of 70,630 to 23,658.

[5] Nov. 7, 1916, an amendment to permit beer was beaten by 53,992, all counties voting against it. Bone-dry amendment was adopted by a majority of 5,255.

[6] Afterward made constitutional by popular vote.

[7] Made constitutional by popular vote May 24, 1919.

This was the situation that faced the nation before the coming of the federal prohibition amendment. In election after election the drys of the nation had returned a prohibition majority to Congress and had given evidence of their power by the enactment of federal legislation of a prohibitory character. The more important of these prohibition acts of Congress beginning as far back as 1913 when the prohibitionists had a majority and since when they have never been without a majority, have been as follows:

Webb-Kenyon Law, Act of March 1, 1913.

Alaska Prohibition, Act of February 14, 1917.

Porto Rico, Prohibition Referendum, Act of March 2, 1917.

District of Columbia, Prohibition, Act of March 3, 1917.

Reed and Jones-Randall Amendments to Post Office Appropriation Bill, Act of March 3, 1917.

Increasing Military Establishment, Act of March 3, 1917.

Food Control, Act of August, 10, 1917.

Submission of Prohibition Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, December 18, 1917.

Hawaii Prohibition, Act of May 23, 1918.

War Prohibition, November 21, 1918.

Prohibition Enforcement Act, October 27, 1919.

In every legislative and congressional election the arguments for prohibition were put before the people and it was the major issue for years before 1920. The people were told that prohibition simply proposed to add to the ebb and flow of legitimate commerce the billions of dollars wasted on drink. Medicine urged people to fight alcohol as a foe to the public health. Business, big and little, lent power to the advance.

And on the 29th day of January, 1919, Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State, issued a proclamation that three-fourths of the State approved the following amendment to the federal constitution:

"Section I. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into,

or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

"Sec. 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

"Sec. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress."

II

HOW PROHIBITION WAS EFFECTED

II

HOW PROHIBITION WAS EFFECTED

PROHIBITION, its past, present and future, if any—and that is the biggest "if" in America to-day. When the Civil War ended, slavery ended, and that abruptly. In the effective language of the doughboy, it was "finis." The slave-holders did not bemoan its passing and did nothing whatever to render the emancipation ineffective.

In 1920 a revolution no less complete was written into the Federal Constitution. That constitutional revolution was accomplished according to the exact processes laid down by the Fathers of the Republic. We have seen that the American people had gone through every stage of temperance agitation—from moderation in the use of all liquors to complete abstinence from "ardent spirits," from disuse of the ardent liquors to abstinence from all alcoholic drink, from total abstinence on the part of individuals to strict regulation by the State (such as high license), from high

license to local option, from local option to State prohibition, from State prohibition to federal constitutional prohibition. The last phase of the temperance movement covered a period of at least thirty years and there has been a strong federal prohibition movement since the Civil War.

The going dry of Georgia in 1908 precipitated the second great State prohibition movement which swept over the South and West, rolling up ever-increasing majorities. Since that time, covering a period of at least twelve years before the enactment of the Volstead Act, the purpose of the prohibitionists of the country to achieve national prohibition was plainly and persistently announced in every hamlet of the land. Mass meetings innumerable declared this purpose. Agitation and propaganda cried it from the house tops. It would hardly be exaggeration to say that in the vast majority of the State and federal legislative districts of the United States, prohibition was the main topic of political conversation for the decade preceding enactment of the federal law. The first thing asked about a candidate for a State legislature or

the federal Congress was "Is he wet or dry?" If he was wet, the wets voted for him and very few of the drys did. If he was dry, the drys voted for him and the wets voted for his opponent or stayed at home. It was not only "an" issue, but "the" issue in every part of the country except the East for many years prior to its final triumph, and even in the East it was no inconsiderable bone of contention between political candidates. If ever any subject was thoroughly discussed before the American people it was the prohibition issue. If ever the American people had a full and fair chance to make up their minds and declare their decisions at the polls in the election of candidates for legislative office it was in connection with prohibition. One of the presidential candidates in 1916, after touring the country, is reported to have returned and said that he was amazed to find that the people were primarily interested not in the war, not in shipping or the tariff, but in the question of prohibition.

The force of this public opinion placed thirty-two States in the dry column before the constitutional amendment and just to show its

complete approval of that amendment, Kentucky, the home of fine whisky, placed a State-wide prohibition law in effect after the constitutional amendment had been submitted and ratified. That ratification was accomplished by forty-five of the forty-eight States and these forty-five have since been reinforced by an additional commonwealth. No other amendment ever before the people of this country has received such uniform support from both political parties, from every section of the country, and has been ratified by such an overwhelming majority of the States.

The men who are claiming to-day that prohibition was the result of precipitate action, that it was never brought completely before the people, ignore the fact that the drys have had a majority, even in Congress itself, for a decade past; a majority amply evidenced by thoroughgoing legislation.

We have a certain form of government and must proceed according to its provisions. There was no other practical way for the achievement of national prohibition than the way that was taken. It is impossible to complain against the methods used without com-

plaining against our legislative structure itself.

Such complaints are usually vague in the extreme, amounting simply to the statement that prohibition was "put over" and that the "people were never allowed to vote on it." The truth is that the people were never allowed to vote on any constitutional amendment in the sense of a national referendum irrespective of State lines and if such a thing were proposed, there would be an immediate, indignant, and vociferous protest from those States which still believe in our federal form of government. It must not be thought that the prohibitionists would fear the result of such a vote. On the contrary, the victorious issue of such a contest can be plainly foreseen. The drys would roll up a tremendous majority over the nation as a whole, but there would probably be local majorities against them in sections where the foreign-born population is large and where the prohibitionists are almost excluded from the avenues of public opinion. Immediately after such an election, the wets would shift their ground completely, deciding that they did not want a national expression for the en-

tire country after all, but were thoroughly convinced that each community should be allowed to decide the matter for itself. "Most of the country went dry," they would say, "now let those portions which voted dry be dry and let the cities that voted wet be wet," absolutely disregarding the fact that modern facilities for transportation with immensely increased communication between States and communities would make it impossible for one portion of the country to be under a legalized form of the liquor traffic without inflicting upon the entire country grave wrongs and disabilities. One standard of morals in regard to the liquor traffic is as essential to this country as the principle of free trade between the States.

This is primarily true because of the enormity of the liquor trade wherever it is legalized. Attempts are made to minimize the question, to restrict it to the sphere of personal and individual responsibility, and to ignore the vast economic and social aspects of the problem. They can not be ignored. If the liquor trade in any form were to be permitted again in this country it would immediately

assume the proportions of the automobile producing and distributing industry. It can not be permitted or prohibited without profoundly affecting every legitimate trade in the country, the banking and credit situation, public and private development, and such community expenses and problems as crime, delinquency, and charity.

The retail liquor bill in 1916 was, in the United States, $2,438,037,985. In Great Britain the liquor bill since the war has been approximately twice the pre-war cost, due chiefly to increased prices. It is safe to say that were wine and beer permitted to be sold in the United States to-day, our annual liquor bill would at retail be not less than five billion dollars and probably it would be larger than this. The annual income of the United States is unknown, but can hardly exceed forty billion dollars. The proposition of those who would destroy the prohibition law is therefore that we should withdraw from the channels of legitimate trade and industry one-eighth of our total national income annually. It will immediately be seen that such a proposition involves the gravest economic con-

siderations. Indeed, we are justified in believing that the enormously raised standard of living of the American people, especially of the laboring class, is due primarily to the prohibition law. The increased use of fruit and vegetables, the great increase in ownership of automobiles, the phenomenal development of such amusement enterprises as the moving-picture theaters, the enormously increased interest in sport—all of these are fruits of prohibition. Not only that, the fact that the United States has weathered so successfully the reactions of the post-war period may be ascribed to the national dry policy. A recent financial authority states that this country has available this year for fresh investment and enterprise over four billion dollars. It is this four billion dollars which builds new factories, employs more labor, demands more raw material, and raises the standard of living by its product. This is not a finished country. Vast portions of the nation are as yet undeveloped and require the constant influx of new capital if wealth and welfare are to move ahead of the growing population.

Suppose we were now to take this four bil-

lion dollars of annual accumulation and turn it into the saloons' tills. We would have nothing at all for progress and would immediately be reduced to the economic situation of certain countries to which prohibition is still a joke. Every economic benefit of prohibition would be destroyed by the return of wine and beer. The liquor bill would be as great as it was before prohibition if not one drop of whisky were sold.

There are, however, other and equally important objections to the proposal to destroy the Eighteenth Amendment by permitting the sale of wine and beer. Perhaps the most serious objection to that proposition is to be made in the name of the sincerity and integrity of law and government. The American people have always shown Anglo-Saxon sportsmanship in accepting political decisions. Ambassador Bryce long ago commented upon this. The real American—the American of native birth or of complete assimilation—fights a political policy to which he is opposed to the last ditch, but when the ballots have been counted or when the matter, having been fully discussed, is decided by legisla-

tors elected by the people, he scorns to obstruct that decision. For perhaps the first time in American history this sportsmanship has been lacking by the losing side, a fact which is perhaps accounted for by the circumstance that so many of the anti-prohibitionists are men of foreign birth who fail to see in American institutions and customs anything calling for admiration or loyalty. Integrity of government can only be founded upon the general acceptance of political decisions. The anti-prohibition propaganda says, "But this decision has not been accepted and the best thing to do is to wipe it out and forget it." On the contrary, that would be the worst thing to do. To wipe out the victory because of the rebellion of these people would immediately invite unprincipled minorities to adopt similar tactics in the future. Nothing would any longer be considered conclusive or settled. The fabric of government would be weakened. The judicial structure would be undermined. Society itself would be shaken to its foundations. The Eighteenth Amendment says that intoxicating liquor shall be forever prohibited. It is true that it is within the legal rights of

Congress to define intoxicating liquor, but it is not the moral right of Congress to make a definition which is at variance with fact, with history, and with the general opinion of the American people.

Can men become drunk on wine or beer? For a hundred years the entire public has known that they can. The art of distillation is a modern discovery. Empires fell because of drunken debauchery before such a thing as a still had existed in the world. No ancient Egyptian was ever drunk except on wine or beer. Alexander died drunk, but he never heard of whisky. The sodden debauchery of Nero's feasts was caused by the wine and beer consumed. The people knew this when they elected a Congress to submit the prohibition amendment. No one told them that wine and beer were not intoxicating. They might as well have been told that eggs will not produce chickens. No one informed the Congress which submitted the amendment that wine and beer will not make a man drunk. The legislatures that ratified the amendment had never heard of this theory. Even if they had heard it and been convinced of something

so utterly contrary to fact, they would still have known that all the evils of chronic alcoholism which proceed only from intoxicating liquors are to be found as the products of those alleged harmless liquors.

In fact these liquors are not harmless. The average beer drinker consumed more alcohol than the average whisky drinker, as is shown by the fact that the United States Government reported a greater national consumption of alcohol through the beer medium than through the whisky medium. The man who drank whisky poured a small quantity into a very small glass, adding carbonated or plain water, or perhaps swallowing it straight. The man who drank beer poured ten times as much beer into a tall glass and consumed it. What then was the final difference between 40 per cent. whisky and 4 per cent. beer? The beer drinker was also notoriously a heavy drinker. Some of them have been known to consume as much as fourteen quarts a day.

The proposition to legalize wine and beer, despite the presence of the Eighteenth Amendment in the Constitution, is simply a proposition to establish a legal fiction, to destroy con-

stitutional law by pretense and thereby to make inconclusive every constitutional and congressional decision.

Another primary objection to the return of wine and beer is that it would bring back the American saloon. The saloon was a beer saloon in every respect, not a whisky saloon. In 75 per cent. of the cases it was owned and controlled by the brewers, and the saloonkeeper was simply a hired man under contract to sell a certain kind of beer. More than 90 per cent. of all business done by the saloon was beer business and it could exist, together with all its institutional evils, its brothel accompaniment, its gambling hell, its graft and corruption, without the sale of one drop of whisky. But the whisky would be sold. It is absolutely impossible to open two hundred thousand saloons in this country again and prevent the sale of whisky. The saloon never observed any law made for its regulation except the law requiring it to pay a tax and it did not observe that law any too well. Laws were passed requiring it to close on Sundays, but it kept open on Sundays just the same, except when it was closed by force.

Laws restricted it to certain hours, but it fixed its own hours. Laws required it not to sell to minors, but it sold to whom it pleased. Even to-day, aside from the shifting and elusive bootlegger, practically all the liquor that is being sold is being sold over the bars of former saloons now running in the guise of near-beer places and restaurants.

Do we want the saloon back? We will get it if, and when, we get wine and beer. What the saloon was we may leave to your own memory and to the testimony of its best friends. *The Wholesalers and Retailers' Review of California* was a periodical devoted to the interests of the liquor business. Here is what it said of the saloon:

"With comparatively few exceptions our saloons are houses of drunken men, profanity, and obscenity of the vilest possible type. It is no wonder that even in the better towns of the Wild West, as well as the effete East and the conservative South, the stranger who visits a saloon is at once invoiced, labelled, and damned."

Try another witness: *Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Circular,* of New York, was one of the

best-known liquor journals of the country. Here is its evidence:

"The modern saloon has been getting worse instead of better. It has been dragged in the gutter; it has been made the cat's-paw for other forms of vice; it has succumbed to the viciousness of gambling; and it has allowed itself to become allied with the social evil."

And here is what W. H. Austin, secretary of the Wisconsin Brewers' Association, said about the retailers in an address before the legislative committee of his State:

"The retail liquor dealers are not worthy of consideration. They are bums and beggars, and are not fit to associate with yellow dogs. They go on a drunk and blow in their money every time they get a few hundred dollars, and then complain about the high price of beer."

We know the motto of the anti-prohibition propaganda, "Wine and beer now. The saloon never." But that motto is nonsense and insincere nonsense at that. How are they going to sell wine and beer if not from places of retail trade? The sale of wine and beer at any retail place will make that place

a saloon in short order. Will they sell wine and beer at soda fountains? Fathers and mothers of this country find such a proposition horrible. Will they sell it at stores to be consumed off the premises? That simply means that the drinkers will congregate in other places to consume the liquors, and the places where they congregate will have all the evils of the saloon. Will they build up a home trade in beer and wine? That means that the women, who were to a great extent excluded from the saloon, are to be made drinkers, and that alcohol is to be injected into the blood of the unborn babe and into the breast milk which nourishes him after birth. Are we prepared to see beer, the most brutalizing and coarsening beverage invented since time began, placed on American tables to become the beverage of American children in place of life-giving milk? Let there be no misunderstanding; the proposal to bring back wine and beer is a proposal to bring back the saloon.

But the saloon was not the worst institution connected with the sale of alcoholic liquors in America. That institution was the

brewery, organized for political purposes, and hand in glove with un-American and anti-American influences. Prohibition was brought about more by the revolt of the American people against the brewery than by resentment against the saloon. The organized brewing interest in this country was a master of political intrigue and corruption. The Judiciary Committee of the Senate of the United States found itself compelled during the war to investigate the connection between the brewing interest and German and Bolshevik propaganda and its findings are summarized in the *Congressional Record* of September 5, 1919. In these findings it affirms that the brewing industry was secretly controlling newspapers and periodicals by the use of large sums of money, was controlling primary elections and political organizations, was contributing enormous sums of money to political campaigns in violation of federal and State statutes, was subsidizing parts of the public press, was suppressing and coercing persons hostile to their business, was boycotting American manufacturing and mercantile concerns which did not support it, was creating its own political or-

ganizations in many States and smaller political units for the purpose of carrying into effect its own political will and financing such organizations by assessments, was contributing large sums of money to the German-American Alliance, "many of the members of which were disloyal and unpatriotic," with a view to using it for the political purposes of the industry, was organizing clubs, leagues, and corporations of various kinds with false names for secret political activity, was improperly treating funds expended for political purposes as business expenditures, was undertaking to control and dominate the foreign language press, was subsidizing writers of recognized standing, and was carrying on many other activities of similarly reprehensible nature.

This is the element to whom it is now proposed, by organized anti-prohibitionists, to give a monopoly of the liquor business in this country. The American distiller is to see his product remain outlawed despite the fact that the average drink of whisky contains no more alcohol than the average drink of beer or wine, and the brewer is to be allowed to con-

trol completely the trade in alcoholic beverages.

When the Senate Judiciary Committee was making the investigation which resulted in the findings quoted, one of the principal witnesses was Mr. Hugh F. Fox, who was at that time Secretary of the United States Brewers Association. Mr. Fox is a man of marked ability, but the questioning he received at the hands of the Senate Committee was prolonged and so distressing to him that at various times he refused to answer until after he had consulted his attorneys. To-day the most important literature being circulated by the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment is prepared by Mr. Hugh F. Fox, the same man who was at the head of the Brewers' organization investigated by the Senate and the star witness at that investigation! And this is pictured as the people's revolt against prohibition!

But, they say, prohibition is a failure, and in support of this allegation they advance various charges which they abandon as quickly as circumstances prove them unjustified. If by the statement that prohibition is a failure

they mean that it has not totally eliminated the drinking of intoxicating liquors, they are certainly correct. It has not stopped such consumption, but it has enormously reduced it, and the fruits of that reduction are being gathered by the people in the remarkable prosperity of the period. The allegation that prohibition is a failure can not be supported by facts, and so the effort is made to overwhelm the public with unsupported statements, to influence it subtly by cartoons, sneers from the stage, flings from the picture shows, in magazines and books, in jests of infinite variety.

Has prohibition decreased drunkenness?

Of course it has. First consider your own experience. How many drunken men have passed your house in the last year? How many passed it in pre-prohibition years? How many drunken men have you seen on the streets recently? There is some drunkenness, of course, but it doesn't compare with what we had before prohibition.

Second, consider the figures. In many cases figures are dull reading, but here they are:

Using only figures which we have personally secured from police departments, in order that you may know that they are correct, we find that in 1918, which was the last "wet" year, there were 214,698 arrests for drunkenness in sixty-five leading cities of the United States. In 1920, the first "dry" year, there were 106,562. This was a decrease of 108,136, or 50.36 per cent., in one year for one charge.

Just here, our friends the enemy will interpose and say, "Yes, but you do not tell all of the story; what about 1921?" All right, we have the figures for 1921 also and you are welcome to them. In that year, in these same sixty-five cities, there were 137,762 arrests for drunkenness, an increase of 31,200, or 29.27 per cent., over 1920. But note this, the arrests in 1921 while greater than in the first dry year, 1920, were still 76,936, or 35.83 per cent., below the last "wet" year, 1918. The ways of the liquor propagandist are devious and often vain! You have no doubt seen the arrests for drunkenness in 1921 compared with 1920 in such a way as to leave the impression that prohibition had increased ar-

rests, the information that both years were "dry" years being carefully concealed.

But perhaps you may ask, "Why should these arrests have increased at all, even tho they were still fewer than under the license system?" That's a fair question and there is a simple answer. These arrests increased because hundreds of men were as busy as bees trying to increase them. Some, not all, of the opponents of prohibition have been industriously striving to increase these arrests in order to make it appear that the prohibition law is a failure and must be abandoned. By persistent and sustained propaganda of suggestion, misrepresentation, ridicule, and incitement, ignorant and thoughtless people have been urged to violate the prohibition law in order that it may be destroyed. When the organized wets point to the fact that they have succeeded in modifying the first good results of the prohibition law, they should hang their heads in shame. In cold fact, they have induced men who would have turned once again to lives of usefulness to continue their degradation, they have sent men who would be loving husbands and fathers reeling home

to beat their wives and dash out the brains of their little ones, they have brought misery and shame into homes that should be filled with comfort and pride.

And then they dare point to their work as "argument" against prohibition.

So much for the statistics. Now how about theory? Is it reasonable to believe that there is "more drinking than ever before?"

Before prohibition we had advertising—newspaper, magazine, billboard, and electric sign advertising; we had window dressing, convenient places of sale, low prices of liquors, incidental attractions such as music, tables, free lunches, treating. Now all that is gone. Is it reasonable to think that they are selling more liquor without it than with it?

Before July 1, 1919, when war-time prohibition suppressed the liquor traffic in the United States, there were in operation 177,790 retail establishments for the sale of alcoholic liquor, 669 breweries, and 74 distilleries. One year prior to that there were 1,092 breweries and 236 distilleries, but during the year many of these establishments were put to other uses in anticipation of national prohibition.

In 1913 four distilleries in the Fifth Illinois District alone used 6,969,689 bushels of grain. That was wholesale manufacturing. Now we have picayune manufacturing.

In 1914 the people of the United States drank 2,100,000,000 gallons of alcoholic liquor. At present bootleg prices, if the people consumed that much they would pay one hundred and five billion dollars a year for it. Probably then, they are not drinking so much as they were! They are making more noise about it. One drink makes considerable disturbance. It is said that a bottle of modern bootleg whisky was set down on the floor and a little mouse crept up to it and licked up a drop that had fallen. In about a minute he strutted out in the middle of the floor and said, "Now show me that cat!" Or, as a friend of mine who has used some of that brand remarked, "One swallow of this stuff would make a rabbit sit up on its hind legs and spit in the face of a bulldog."

III

HOW PROHIBITION WILL PROHIBIT

III

HOW PROHIBITION WILL PROHIBIT

"Ah," say our opponents, *"there's the rub: less liquor is being consumed, but it is far more poisonous."*

The liquors being bootlegged to-day are poisonous; there is no doubt of that. They are also violent, extremely filthy, and there is no guaranty as to quality. More than 90 per cent. of the alcoholic drink which is being sold at high prices, camouflaged by fake labels and counterfeit revenue stamps, is the rawest of raw spirits, colored artificially. A great deal of it even contains wood alcohol. Liquors can not be bought from illicit dealers for illicit purposes to-day without danger to the health or life of the consumer.

But what about the liquors of the good old days when cocktails were two for a quarter? Years ago, *Bonfort's Wine and Spirits Circular* said that "the bulk of spirits sold to-day in glass under well-known brands is not

what it is represented to be. The truth of the matter is (we dislike to say it), the wine and spirits trade of this country is honeycombed with fraud. Many a dealer prominent socially . . . will take a lot of neutral spirits, brand them on the label or glass with the name of any State or county desired and with any age, and this he will do with all the smiles and glee and inward delight that is said to characterize the bold buccaneer when he cuts a throat and scuttles a ship."

The beer sold in the saloon was no better. The National Consumers' League declared that "beer is often made of glucose, sugar, rice, rotten corn, starch, preservatives, beer color, etc." Lager beer was often ripened with chemicals. Brewers were often openly in the market for rotten corn and sweepings. Nor was this an American trouble alone. Dr. O'Gorman, before the British Medical Association in 1900 said: "The markets of the world are incredibly flooded with imitations, adulterations, and chemical trade mixtures (particularly in wines), so much so that even eminent wine merchants have declared the impossibility of the large majority of drinkers,

especially outside the countries of their manufacture, ever tasting even tolerably pure liquor."

Nor are the poisonings from wood alcohol a new thing. Mr. John Walker Harrington reviewed this matter at length in the *New York Times* of January 15, 1922. Mr. Harrington stated that the trade in poisonous beverages containing wood alcohol arose as far back as 1896. "Manufacturers gave fancy names to it, such as 'Columbian Spirits,' 'Eagle Spirits,' 'Hastings Spirits,' 'Colonial Spirits,' 'Manhattan Spirits,' 'Union Spirits,' and 'Lion d'Or,' the last title being probably due to the fact that it made even the gentle rise up and roar like the fierce Numidian lion."

Admitted, however, that liquors sold today are even more poisonous than before prohibition, it nevertheless is true that they are not the menace that they were. It is not the individual poisoning which constitutes the chief menace of alcohol. It is the chronic and racial poisoning which strikes at the root of future generations and lowers the level of citizenship. Better hundreds sent to their graves by wood alcohol which they were un-

der no compulsion to drink rather than millions cut short of their full possibilities by alcohol which perhaps they themselves never drank at all.

"Ah," say our opponents, *"that is just it. You said that when the saloon went, our young people would be saved from drink, that the old soaks might continue to drink but that the boys and girls would grow up free from the liquor appetite.* Yet to-day we hear of hip-pocket flasks in high schools and at dances. Our boys and girls think it smart to drink just because it is prohibited."

Nonsense! Let us look at the thing in the round. The occasional youth with a hip-pocket flask, the occasional girl who swallows bootleg liquor at a dance does not represent the average youth. In the first place, few boys have the money to buy much whisky at $12 to $20 a quart. The hip-pocket sport usually is a casual offender, who shows off for a night and is a teetotaler for years.

In the old days, the average, self-respecting young chap faced a real temptation. Going down the street on a hot summer day one of his companions would say, "What about a

beer?" "I don't drink beer," he would reply. "The old man doesn't like for me to do it and I just never have." "Beer never hurt any one; come take a shy at it anyway," would be the answer. On the corner was the saloon, with bright windows, cool damp air pouring out from under the swinging door. Inside, tables for cards, chairs for rest, toilet facilities for comfort. In he would go and have his first beer. Soon he would be a regular beer-drinker and it is astonishing what enormous quantities of beer the regular drinker put away. Then, in company with his friends, he would treat to cocktails instead of beer; it looked a little more sporty. In time, gambling in the back room, vicious women upstairs—maybe he would not go so far, maybe a great deal further.

To-day, if he tastes his first drink, he must pay an excessive price for vile and violent spirits, fermentation of which may have been hastened by manure, made in filthy vessels often full of dead flies and the remains of rotten mash, perhaps colored with iodin or even strengthened with wood alcohol. If he is intelligent, he knows the facts, far better than

some of his elders. Young men without a liquor appetite are never going to form it by drinking such liquor as that. Make no mistake about it, millions of young people who would have grown up to be regular consumers of alcoholic liquors are to-day coming to maturity hardly knowing the taste of such beverages. And those who do drink occasionally just to "show off" will stop—are stopping now, never fear. It is a passing phase, a fad, the last kick of the childishness which persists through adolescence. It is all one with "playing Indian."

"Ah, but then there is the matter of home brew." They get it at home, we are told. In foreign papers, we read statements by American wets that practically every American home now has its still or home-brew outfit. Incidentally, they also say that practically every American is a violator of the law. You know what kind of bird it is that fouls its own nest. What satisfaction these people can get in such vile slanders upon their own country we do not know. But we do know this: home brew is not a menace, it is almost a joke.

When prohibition first went into effect, there were plenty of efforts to make "home brew." Hops and malt were on sale on every hand, even in shoe-shining stands. To-day you seldom see these things on sale. Why? Because the amateur home brewers made magnificent failures. Beer which is palatable is even harder to make than palatable whisky. The kitchen brewery inevitably spread abroad a frightful smell and turned out a product hard to drink and even harder on the liver. It is a safe statement that not one family in fifty ever tried to make "home brew"; and that not one family in one thousand is trying it to-day. Italians and other south Europeans do make a very great deal of wine and some dear old ladies of American birth go out and pick dandelions to put up a few quarts "in case of sickness"; but as a problem it amounts to little.

Wild assertions in regard to this have been made. At one time wet propagandists circulated all over the world a statement which they credited to the Prohibition Director of Ohio to the effect that there are fifty thousand stills in that State. The Director prompt-

ly denied ever having made such a statement and brought forward proof of its absurdity, but his denial received little publicity. The space had been used up on the falsehood.

"Anyway," says the enemy, *"bootlegging has assumed the proportions of a great national industry."*

Yes, there are a lot of bootleggers. There are many reasons why there have been thousands of them. But note this: One by one those reasons are passing. Juries are convicting with monotonous regularity, fines are growing much heavier, jail sentences much more frequent. To-day it is a frightfully dangerous business. Men and women who once considered the bootlegger a "necessary evil" have awakened to the fact that he is the most dangerous and unscrupulous scoundrel with whom the law deals, an extortioner, a poisoner, a gun man, a sneaking degenerate, who stops at nothing to remove an obstacle which blocks his "graft."

But drink selling was a leading national industry before prohibition. It was an industry dealing in billions of dollars, a business so vast as to dwarf a thousand years of boot-

legging. At the time prohibition came, there was nearly one billion dollars of capital tied up in the business of making men drunk for profit. Nearly two hundred thousand saloon-keepers, besides bartenders, brewery workers and similar employees worked day and night inducing people to drink. The drink seller in that day was not a recognized criminal, slinking from alley to alley and disposing of stray cases or half pints in fear and trembling. He was an influential citizen, a political boss, a monopolist in prostitution, gambling, and graft. If, to-day, bootlegging is a "great national industry," what was the legalized drink trade under license? It was not simply *A* leading business, it was almost *THE* leading business.

And let us not think for one moment that bootlegging and blind-pigging were unknown in the days of yore. Quite the contrary was true. In 1914, the Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church made an investigation to find out just how many more had paid the federal license to sell liquors than had paid State licenses in wet States. There was an

excess of 3,204 in Michigan; 2,105 in Rhode Island; 6,064 in Ohio; 11,150 in New York State and 10,046 in Illinois. Practically every one of these people were doing a bootleg or blind-pig business. In every case they had no right to operate without a State license. In Pennsylvania at that time, it is estimated that there were 30,000 blind pigs.

To-day nobody knows just how many bootleggers there are, but you may rest assured there are not thirty thousand or anything like that number in the entire nation. And the industry passes. The federal law can take the bootlegger's automobile away from him, can even close his home for a year if he has sold liquor there, can send him to jail and assess such heavy tax penalties and fines as to eat up his profits. The limit of the law is being used more and more. Just this morning it is announced that in the District of Columbia only jail sentences will hereafter be imposed. All over the country the courts are tightening up.

"Prohibition just makes hypocrites; it has made us a nation of hypocrites." A poor sort of American makes that remark. The next

time one says it in your presence, resent the insult to your country as you would an insult to your mother. It is a foul falsehood. There are hypocrites, it is true, but prohibition did not make them. It was simply the nature of the brute in the first place. The most contemptible sort of hypocrite is the man who wants the Congress of the United States to declare that wine and beer are not intoxicating. For five hundred years all the world has known that they were and are intoxicants. But these hypocrites want the Congress to write a lie into law and hypocritically balk the Constitution of the United States. Of course, some of these people are not hypocrites; they just have not thought about the matter. But the wine and beer propagandists are hypocritical; they know!

Another hypocrite is the wet reformer who says, "As long as it is the law it must be enforced, *BUT* . . ." You will notice that this fellow is always doing everything possible to resist the enforcement of the law. He slanders the enforcement officers, ridicules the law, sneers at it from the stage and in comic cartoons, misrepresents the law's provisions,

says, "It can't be enforced," etc. He wants the law violated in hopes that violation will destroy it. He is a hypocrite and no mistake.

"O, but the smuggling! A veritable Niagara of liquor is pouring in over the three-mile limit. Modern pirates are making a joke of the law." This smuggling situation is bad; that is true. Rum vessels, flying the flags of supposedly friendly nations and loaded with synthetic bootleg spirits are hovering on the three-mile line. But don't worry. No one has ever thumbed his nose at Uncle Sam indefinitely. Friends of America in Great Britain are protesting this assault upon a friendly nation. In America, the government will certainly act; may indeed have acted before you read this. International law justifies effective measures in dealing with this piracy. Rum smuggling will stop.

But let us apply the law of relativity just here. How does the amount of liquor poured in by these smugglers compare with the amount the people consumed under license? It is a drop in the bucket; no more. Practically all of this smuggled liquor originally starts from Great Britain and comes to the

United States by way of Canada, the British West Indies, or adjacent islands. But in 1922 the amount of British spirits coming to the British West Indies was only 91,459 gallons as compared to 78,912 in 1913, while the shipments to Canada in 1922 were only 803,105 gallons as compared with 1,624,136 gallons in 1913. The entire British exports to China, the United States, the Philippines, Cuba, Haiti, Mexico, Canada, the Bermudas, Bahamas, and British West Indies were only one-half as great in 1922 as in 1913. This means just one thing; all of the smuggling has brought into the United States a mere fraction of the amount of liquor legally imported before prohibition and we do not even refer to the enormous domestic production. And don't think that all the liquors exported from Great Britain were smuggled into the United States. Canada and the isles of the sea drank a little bit themselves.

Smuggling has increased recently (and temporarily) but why? *Because moonshining and other methods of illicit production in the United States have almost broken down as a source of supply.* The defeat of the moon-

shiner has given the smuggler his day and it will be a brief one.

The Association Against the Prohibition Amendment makes the assertion that *"Crimes of violence have enormously increased." Not only increased but ENORMOUSLY increased.* We are willing to test the regard for accuracy of these people by that single statement.

There has been, of course, all over the world a crime impulse since the great war. The desperate condition of many out-of-work soldiers, the new disregard for the shedding of blood, the psychological upset and unrest of the masses through the blood lust of war, have contributed to this. We are told, how reliably we can not say, that crimes of violence in Germany have increased 1000 per cent. But the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment was not speaking of Germany, where light wines and beer flow in streams. It was speaking of our own country of America.

Now, violent crime is America's besetting sin. In crimes against property, America has a splendid record; in fact, the crime record of

the United States compares favorably with the records of other countries except in the one matter of violence.

The Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church, seldom uses statistics not gathered by their own trained staff. They not only *know* that their own statistics are correct, but are able to *prove* them correct by documentary evidence. Haphazard figures are not so reliable, and as for wet propaganda figures—well, you remember the old saying about lies, other lies, and statistics.

What do the real figures say as to the charge that crimes of violence have enormously increased in this country? In Cincinnati during the first year of prohibition, murders declined from 28 to 7; in Louisville from 32 to 21; in Boston assaults decreased in number from 2,127 to 1,673. These are typical instances.

But it is in the minor crimes, the petty disturbances upon the street, the offenses against order, that the effect of prohibition has been most felt. In the nation's capital, Washington, such offenders are sent to Occoquan, the

Government farm. The average number of persons in the workhouse in 1917, the last year the District was under license, was 631. Since that time the population for succeeding years has been respectively, 373, 433, 334, and 208.

The investigations of the Board of Temperance in sixty-one leading cities reveal that in the last wet year there were 71,892 arrests for disorderly conduct, and in 1920, the first full dry year, there were 46,240, a decline of more than 35 per cent.

The Bureau of Census recently completed an enumeration of prisoners in the penal institutions of the United States as of July 1, 1917, and July 1, 1922. This showed an increase of 7.1 per cent. in the number of prisoners confined on July 1, 1922, *but* there were only 282 institutions not reporting on July 1, 1922, as compared with 1,076 not reported July 1, 1917. The ratio to 100,000 population in 1922 was only 137.4 as compared with 137.2 in 1917, and we are therefore justified in believing that, taking into consideration the larger number of institutions reporting in 1922, there was an actual decrease

in the number of prisoners per 100,000 of population.

A study of the bulletin reveals that:

1. There has been a sharp decrease in the number of prisoners in States that formerly had licensed saloons.

2. There has been an increase in the number of prisoners in those States which were under prohibition prior to 1917. Those States had already reaped the benefit of their prohibition policy and suffered from the natural crime-increasing tendency of the war period.

Mr. Hastings S. Hart, President of the American Prison Congress for 1922, in commenting upon the bulletin says: "If it had not been for prohibition, these twenty-eight States (which were wet before 1917) like the twenty prohibition States, would doubtless have shown a very large increase in consequence of the war."

So you see, prohibition *has not* enormously increased crimes of violence or any other kind of crimes. Statistics can be segregated perhaps to indicate an increase in some localities; but for the country as a whole the record

is plain, and it establishes the falsity of the wet claim.

"Prohibition has been an outrage on labor." Why? In this country native labor is intelligent, self-respecting, and ambitious. Foreign labor should, as soon as possible, become as much like native labor as may be. They said that labor would stage a "no beer, no work" strike. Did they do it? They did not. Nothing since time began has so raised the standard of living for laboring men as has prohibition. Labor in the mass is voiceless and easily slandered. The attempt to picture labor as sodden with beer appetite is nonsense. If it be true that other men can pay the high prices demanded for illicit liquors more easily than the laboring man, that is to the laborer's advantage. It means that in a generation or two some of these "flush sports" will be shining shoes for the sons of the laboring man who can't afford booze to-day.

"Prohibition is making this a nation of drug fiends." The statement has been made that there are four million drug addicts in the country. But you can not find a single authority on the subject who will state that

prohibition has caused the people to turn to drugs. Any man who said this would be a laughing stock among his confrères. There is no connection between the drug appetite and the drink appetite. They are totally dissimilar. Drugs will not satisfy the alcohol demand, nor will alcohol satisfy the drug demand.

The men who are responsible for the enforcement of the Harrison antinarcotic law in the United States were recently queried and without one exception they said that prohibition *has not* increased drug addiction. In 1918 (before national prohibition) Congress provided for the appointment of a Committee of Investigation by the Secretary of the Treasury to study the drug problem. This Committee found, as stated on page fourteen of its report, "the increases (in drug addiction) reported were from the larger (wet) cities, while the decrease occurred in the smaller cities." Again on page twenty-one, it said, "Information in the hands of the Committee indicates that drug addiction is less prevalent in rural communities than in cities or congested areas. It would be unfair to estimate

the number of addicts in the entire country on the basis of figures obtained in New York City." Mr. Henry T. Rainey, Chairman of the Committee, in a letter, said, "The result of my studies of the narcotic question in the United States has led me to the conclusion that the number of addicts increases much more rapidly in saloon territory than in dry territory." He was of this opinion, not because alcohol addiction led to drug addiction, but because the saloon, as a social center, spread the drug habit from evil persons to beginners. Of a thousand cases examined by the New York Department of Health in June, 1921, "only three claimed that the alcohol habit was responsible for the drug addiction." The Philadelphia General Hospital has queried drug addicts since prohibition, and has not found that the difficulty in securing liquors has turned alcohol addicts to drugs.

In fact, there are not four million drug addicts in this country, and probably not one-tenth that number. The Philadelphia Narcotic Drug Committee, of which Mr. Edward E. Bok was Chairman, estimated the number at 187,000. Draft Board examinations dis-

closed only 1,001 cases out of three and a half million men examined. Two thousand one hundred and twenty were subsequently found in camps and recruit depots. At the same ratio—and the ratio would not be so high at other ages—there are about 100,000 drug addicts in the country. It is a great menace, but when used as antiprohibition propaganda, it is deplorably weak.

And now we come to an old-timer argument. *"What about personal liberty?"* We believe in personal liberty, but in the words of the Supreme Court of the United States, "Even liberty itself, the greatest of all rights, is not unrestricted license to act according to one's own will." What does personal liberty in connection with the drink traffic mean? It means that the state shall permit and even license a public trade in liquors in order that it may be convenient for the drinker to secure his beverages with little trouble. The license of such a trade, however, seriously restricts the personal liberty of the non-drinker. He must help to pay the cost of the traffic and its results, he must contend with the crime, his children are subject to the temptation, his

home and person are outraged by the annoyances of drunkards and brawlers. He suffers in his economic interests because the drink trade is a drag upon prosperity.

Every civilized person surrenders a certain degree of personal liberty as a contribution to society. This is what civilization is. Free speech is certainly a part of one's personal liberty, but free speech directed against the safety of the state is not permitted. You may eat tainted food yourself, but you may not sell it. You may not even pass down the street insufficiently clad. Law is honeycombed with restrictions upon personal liberty, and these restrictions are justified by the demands of society.

If the United States Government can forbid you to destroy your own body and yet can draft that body and send it to the trenches to be destroyed to protect the country, can it not do so small a thing as remove one's beer glass in order that the country may prosper, individuals be protected against depreciation of property, and numerous other ills, crime, and insanity be prevented?

The American Brewers' Review itself

stated the question admirably when it said, "The so-called personal liberty argument in behalf of alcoholic drink loses more and more of its force. Consideration of the public welfare continues to grow and overshadow the rights of the individual. The drink question must be fought out upon the ultimate foundation of morals, hygiene, and social order—in other words the public welfare."

There is a ridiculous little story which clearly illustrates the absurdity of the "personal liberty" argument against prohibition. Once upon a time, there was an impulsive individual in a certain city who decided that he must immediately begin the erection of a frame store building at Fourth and Main Streets. But when he went to get his building permit he was told it could not be done.

"Why not?" he asked. "It is my ground and my material; I suppose I can put up anything I want to; what's liberty for, anyway?"

"No," was the reply, "you can't put up anything but a fireproof building on that location."

He was mad all the way through. "Pity when a man can't do as he likes with his own

property," he said. And he went out slamming the door and jumped into his flivver, which he drove off at forty miles an hour. In a few blocks he was stopped by a policeman and taken to the station to deposit collateral for appearance in court. "You broke the speed law," he was told. "It's my flivver," he said, "I'll drive it as fast as I want to." "Then we'll put you in jail," was the answer.

He was madder than ever. Going out, he spat contemptuously on the sidewalk and was immediately arrested by another policeman. "What's the matter now?" he asked. "Can't a man even spit where he wants to?" "No," was the reply, "not in this town, your personal liberty can't go quite that far."

"I'll not stay in such a place," he declared. Getting into his car, he started out of the city, intending to leave it forever. But at the city limits, he was stopped and not allowed to pass; the city was under quarantine!

No man's liberty reaches any farther than where the other man's rights begin.

"Prohibition is out of place in the Constitution; it should be merely statutory so that it could be easily changed." So say our op-

ponents. We disagree. It should be in the Constitution so that it *can not* be easily changed. It should be hard to get in and hard to get out. The drink interest is so vast, the menace so great that we must determine upon a fixed policy and have uninterrupted chance to fit that policy to tradition, custom, and precedent. One generation of prohibition and the custom will be no longer debatable.

Prohibition is an essential principle, not merely a policy. The Federal Constitution prohibits the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, ex post facto laws, unequal taxation, laws abridging the rights of free speech. But unchecked by the Constitution of the United States, the executive and legislative branches established a national partnership with a trade which wasted the national resources, contributed heavily to social delinquency and entailed a vast burden of poverty and wo upon the people. The people felt that they had a right to expect consistent hostility on the part of their government to trades which endanger the public health and welfare, especially so as trade is a matter for social

and not individual determination. The policy of license was abhorrent to the common law and out of harmony with the preamble to the Constitution. And so, treading in the paths of their fathers, the people made prohibition a part of the charter of their liberties. For the first time, we have in prospect peace on this issue, a cessation of agitation, a fixed policy. One generation more and we shall see it.

"But the absurdity of defining intoxicating liquors as any beverage containing one-half of one per cent. alcohol!" But the Volstead Act did not define it. It did not have to do so. It had been defined by the government so long that Uncle Sam, the several States, the liquor traffic, and the temperance people had come to a perfect agreement, an understanding without a discordant voice. Who originated this? The liquor traffic wanted protection under license against all illicit sellers, and they demanded an enactment with definition specific that if any moonshiner or bootlegger sold any drink containing more than one-half of one per cent. alcohol he was encroaching on "our rights"; he was selling intoxicating

liquor without a license. The government accepted this definition, the several States adopted it, the cities enacted it into their ordinances, the Eighteenth Amendment found it all prevailing, the Volstead Committee learned it as "settled." There was no changing it. It had grown roots for forty years. Its planters could not uproot it. The one-half of one per cent. definition was, like the Irishman's inscription on his own tombstone, "Here to stay."

IV

WHAT PROHBITION HAS ACCOMPLISHED

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It will probably not be overlooked by any students of American history that the first rebellion that ever raised its arm against the government of the United States was the Whisky Rebellion of 1794. The government was new. It had no funds to carry on its work. Under the Articles of Confederation it could not levy a direct tax except by the consent of the various States. Finally, an adjustment was made by which whisky was to be taxed.

The whisky makers in western Pennsylvania refused to recognize this levy or to pay one dollar of taxes. They hauled down the American flag, fired on mail carriers, post-offices and custom houses, and drove the tax collectors into hiding; and George Washington had to call for troops to put down this incipient rebellion and to enforce the sovereignty of our country.

That snake has never lost its sting or been regenerated since. It has violated every law that has ever been passed for its regulation, its taxing, or its prohibition. We have had laws against selling liquor to minors, but they have sold to any little boy or girl who could reach the money up as high as the counter, and have manufactured doped candy to be presented to them going and coming from home and school.

We have had laws against their selling to inebriates, but they have sold to any poor, weak, drunken man as long as he could stand up to pay, and rolled him when he was down for what he might have left.

We have had laws against their selling on Sunday, but the organized liquor traffic almost trampled out our American Sabbath by its ceaseless violation, turning Sunday into a day of carousal and drunkenness.

We have had laws against their harboring disreputable associates, but the gambling hell has been an accompaniment of the saloon. We have had local option laws against their selling in certain townships and counties. They have violated every such restriction and

sought to break down every law for their limitation, regulation, or prohibition. And the violation of the present national prohibition law is no new thing for the liquor traffic.

Lawlessness did not originate with the Eighteenth Amendment. There is probably less violation of the liquor law to-day than we have had in America for one hundred and forty years. Forty-nine-fiftieths of all the property that was engaged in the manufacture and sale of liquor is now used for other purposes. Nineteen-twentieths of all the people who used to be engaged in the sale of liquor are now employed in other trades.

We hear more about one bootlegger with a single bottle of whisky in his pocket than we used to hear of hundreds of wide open saloons plying their trade night and day and all through Sundays in violation of law. The reason is that we have made the sale of liquor *news*. This was illustrated by an incident which happened a little over a year ago in Portland, Oregon.

One of the authors was going down Morrison Street and just out in front of the post-office saw a crowd collecting. Some people are

too dignified to follow a crowd, but he likes to be where something is going on. Arriving in the throng, there were three hundred gathered around a Ford. A federal officer was on one side and a policeman on the other. The policeman took the man by the arm, got a half-consumed whisky bottle out of his pocket, opened his satchel and found two more bottles unopened, while the federal officer was getting in on the other side, and asking someone to crank the car for him so he could take it around for confiscation.

As the officer displayed the two bottles and a half he made by that "haul," a shyster lawyer of the town, who always hangs around Police Courts to take the disreputable cases, remarked: "Well, this is what I have always said. I have said it a thousand times. Prohibition don't prohibit. Just look at this, right here on the streets of Portland in broad daylight."

The author stepped to the side of this man, raised his hand over the crowd, and said: "Ladies and gentlemen, may I say a word? When I came to your town eighteen years ago you had only 100,000 people; now 350,-

000. But you had four hundred and eighty-eight licensed saloons selling liquor all day and all night and all day Sunday in violation of law. You had four breweries, a number of wholesale places, and warehouses. These institutions maintained eighteen vans, on one of which I have counted one hundred barrels. These vans delivered six loads a day and five or six, with a new crew, every night, supplying the saloons and gambling hells and bootleggers, for there were 1190 liquor licenses taken out in Portland those days; and if you subtracted the number of legalized saloons and other institutions that secured the right to handle it, you would still have four hundred and fifty illegal jointists selling with as little right as the bootlegger has now. Now we have cut that whole business down to one Ford and two bottles and a half. The bootlegger is on his way to jail, the car in process of confiscation to the government, and we have got a natural-born and long-practised idiot here trying to make us believe things are as bad as they ever were."

This fairly illustrates the gigantic proportions one little sale or supply of liquor takes

on now in the light of our publicity methods as compared to the widespread drinking, drunkenness, manufacture, sale, dominance of politics, and corruption of government represented by the licensed liquor traffic of four brief years ago. Instead of prohibition being a failure, as those whom it has restricted would have us believe, it has been, in spite of handicaps, the greatest moral triumph that our generation has ever seen in the round world. It is not as well enforced as it might be. The officers, selected in many instances by the enemies of the law with a design to have it fail, have not enforced it perfectly; but it has wrought some of the moral miracles of the twentieth century. Let me name a few:

We well remember when the most powerful trust that blighted America with its presence, defied the government and sneered at the church, dictated to all parties, legislatures, councils, and even to the Senate and Congress itself, was the liquor traffic of the United States. People prayed for its abolition without any faith that they would live to see the day. They voted against it, but it was like trying to bail out an ocean with a

thimble; and the greatest prohibitionist I ever knew in my youth, in his most eloquent flights, pictured the better day coming, and would say, "Prohibition will one day come to our world, and whether on this side or from the other side, I shall see it." That was the highest upreach of faith: that after he had lived his life and gone to heaven, he might be able to see a nation redeemed from the rum traffic by looking down.

Well, neither he nor any of those thousands lived long enough to see it, but their children are here and have seen that colossal, nation-embracing trust that coined into cash the appetites, the habits, and even the social cravings of mankind, turned into an outlawed bootlegger, cringing before officers and knowing that they and their business are doomed and that they have but a short time.

To have outlawed the liquor traffic is alone a vindication of prohibition.

It has removed organized and legalized temptation from the pathway of the young, the weak, the habit-bound. The most appetite-cursed drunkard can walk the streets of any American city to-day sober if he will. He

neither sees the saloon sign nor smells the stench of the barroom nor the saturated sawdust floors. The familiar saloon door is not swinging inward to engulf our men, nor outward pouring forth a stream of drunkenness and misery into American home life; and this is a new day.

This does not mean that some old drunkards, unwilling to reform, can not find liquor if they hunt. It does mean that the saloon is not hunting them down when they want to quit, and there is a world of difference between having to hunt evil and having evil hunt you down when you are trying to escape from its clutches.

Millions of excessive drinkers have stopped —all of us know some of them who have not taken a drop of intoxicating liquor since prohibition went into effect. Their names are not in the newspapers, they are making no sensation, but they are living at home, paying their bills and in many instances their old debts. They bring their pay checks to their wives every Saturday, and instead of going out to the saloon and drinking and gambling it away alone, they go down "with mother

and the children" to do their shopping, and throng the stores of Saturday afternoons.

There are exceptions. There are some who are drinking hair tonic, wood alcohol, or any concoction to make them think they are getting around the law and beating the government, but let us remember that this class is not the product of prohibition. They are the left-overs from the old saloon days and they will not be here much longer. The stuff they are taking will soon end the story.

Prohibition has led out of temptation and delivered from evil those who wanted to be.

Prohibition saved America from what came as a crash upon every other country; and that financial advantage ought to be remembered to the credit of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Lastly, it has revolutionized the social customs of America. Some of us have drunk just as much liquor in the three since the Eighteenth Amendment as in the thirty years before—just none—but the customs among the drinking classes, in the homes of the poor, in the circles that have been deeply affected by what father does and how brother spends his money—these have been revolutionized.

Two years ago the writer was visiting a Conference in Central Illinois. It was held at Dwight. As I neared the place, I said to myself, "I have never been in Dwight, but I have heard of this place. What is there that I ought to know about the town?" Suddenly I thought, "Why, this is the home of the Keeley Cure Institute, the greatest institution for the cure of drunkenness in the world, I have always wanted to see it. This is my chance."

Getting out of the car I walked over to an intelligent looking cabman and said to him, "How far are we from the Keeley Cure Institute?" He looked up into my face, and replied, "Pardner, you're too late," and on further inquiry informed me that the Keeley Cure Institute two months after prohibition went into effect closed up forever from lack of patrons. I made inquiry about their various branch institutions. Some of them had been sold for denominational colleges, some had become city hospitals, two of them State normal schools, many of them sanitariums, but they had all gone out of business as Keeley Cure Institutes. Prohibition had re-

moved the necessity for numerous institutions to take care of drunkards.

This, with the information that can be gotten from numerous other institutions will indicate that we have quietly looked on and seen a perfectly revolutionary change in the social customs of the millions without scarcely noticing that anything special was going on.

Prohibition has wrought this bloodless victory for decency and order, and is now in the process of eliminating the memories and tendencies of the sad old days.

The real test of anything is what it does do and not what it fails to do. The fair-minded man wishing to arrive at the truth as the basis for useful conclusions also takes into consideration the circumstances under which a record has been made. The man who runs a hundred yards in ten seconds with a brick tied to each foot deserves special applause. In the first place he has done well to run a hundred yards in ten seconds. In the second place he has done remarkably well to do it under the handicap imposed upon him. In estimating his running ability we must take the bricks into consideration, and it is only fair

to believe that when he succeeds in ridding himself of his weights he will go very much faster.

One who thinks for himself will soon have his doubts as to prohibition resolved, if he will simply shut his eyes and cast his mind back to the days of the saloon. He knows that he sees less drunkenness to-day, that there are evidences of very much less poverty, that on the whole life is distinctly on the mend.

What has done this? There is the constitutional amendment which prohibits the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquor. There is the Volstead Act which goes into detail and makes the constitutional amendment effective. The Volstead Act has met tremendous abuse and infinite ridicule. It has been said that the Volstead Act is oppressive, but no one finds it oppressive who does not wish the manufacture or sale or transportation of intoxicating beverages. It has been said that the Volstead Act is a "joke," and the effort to make it appear a joke has put behind the bars hundreds of ignorant men who were led to believe that it really was a matter for laughter. It is no joke at all. Under the

Volstead Act the offender against prohibition can be fined large sums of money, sent to jail, sent to the United States penitenitary, subjected to heavy punitive taxes and revenue penalties, see his place of business enjoined and padlocked by the government. The public is told that juries will not convict under the Volstead Act. In most parts of the country, to use the language of the colored brother, "that is what they will do nothing else but." Convictions by juries range from 80 to 98 per cent. in all but a very few lawless communities populated largely by aliens and children of aliens.

The opposition to the Volstead Act proceeds from men who want to make money out of its destruction and who, in order to destroy it in every possible way, urge ignorant, uninformed, and un-Americanized people to violate and resist the law. They have had astonishingly little success with Americans. In Arizona 85 per cent. of the prohibition law violators were aliens; in California 85 per cent. are of foreign birth, mostly Italian and Greek; in Colorado 52 per cent. of liquor violations were by foreigners in 1922; in Maryland 75

per cent., in Louisiana 90 per cent. are aliens or children of aliens; in Illinois the percentage is also 90; in Missouri 88 per cent. are foreign born, in Nevada 50 per cent. In New Jersey in the last 18 months there were 729 foreigners reported for prosecution and 475 Americans, many of the latter being foreign born. In New York, the percentage of alien violators to the total number of aliens is four times the percentage of citizen violators to the total number of citizens. These figures are official. It may seem, therefore, that revolt against the Volstead Law is an alien rebellion, incited for the purpose of profit by men interested in a trade which has always been criminal since time began.

Prohibitionists are constantly amazed by the success of wet propagandists in "getting away with" absurd and false claims. It seems that they would be thoroughly discredited by the consistent failure of their prophecies, and yet even to-day their ridiculous predictions frequently impress the casual listener. They said there would be a beer rebellion if the United States dared to pass a prohibition law. There wasn't. They said

that hotels simply could not run without bars, but to-day we see vast new hotels springing up in nearly every city. The small city of Atlanta seems almost to be given over to hotels in its down town section, but they are planning a new one to cost $7,000,000, not to mention extensive additions to large existing hotels. They said that throwing saloon property on the market would absolutely demoralize rents and that the realty business would be in a panic, but saloon locations to-day all over the country are bringing two and three times the rent they formerly brought. Candy shops, retail dry goods establishments, millinery and haberdashery shops, restaurants, tea-rooms, bookstores, places for the sale of automobile accessories, these and a thousand other places seem like nature to abhor a vacuum, for they have flowed into these choice saloon locations until every nook and cranny is filled.

The highest rents are paid by those retail shops which cater especially to the trade of women. Formerly such shops scrupulously avoided the vicinity of saloons. Now that saloons have been driven out, owners of prop-

erty suitable for the sale of such goods have been surprized and delighted to find that merchants have seized upon the opportunity to occupy the choice corner locations and convenient premises where drink was formerly sold.

They told us that if our Merchant Marine did not serve liquors on shipboard our vessels would be driven off the seas, for Americans would not sail on boats without liquor; it must be a floating saloon or it would not interest us. But a generation trained to travel only on trains, whose engineers and conductors and brakemen were total abstainers, felt more at ease with sober ship captains and pilots and crews than with imbibing sailors, so the false prophets missed it again.

V

PROHIBITION IN CHICAGO

V

PROHIBITION IN CHICAGO

THE Research Department of the Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals in October, 1922, completed a five months investigation of prohibition and its effects in Chicago. This investigation was conducted under the auspices of a local committee comprising a number of the city's representative men. Chicago was selected for this study because it was desired to uncover prohibition at its worst. The results of our investigation justify us in saying that prohibition at its worst is better than license at its best.

The effect of prohibition in the city was immediate and uniformly beneficial. It has greatly increased the community's wealth, raised the standard of living, fed the hungry, and clothed the naked.

At the same time a note of alarm must be sounded. Current crime statistics plainly revealed that the wet propaganda, intended to

incite uninformed or evil-minded people to violation of the prohibition law and to the consumption of liquor, was having effect. Good results, so noticeable at first, were being modified. What these good results were, and still are, may be understood by clearly fixing certain facts:

History of Prohibition in Chicago

War prohibition went into effect July 1, 1919. Drastic restrictions upon the drink trade incident to the war had mitigated the evil effects of the saloon prior to that time.

Federal Constitutional prohibition went into effect in January 1920.

The effect of prohibition in Chicago is indicated by statistics dealing with crime, pauperism, thrift, disease, industry, commerce, and real estate. The question is also illuminated by expressions of opinion on the part of welfare workers and others equipped by experience and responsibility to judge.

Some of the good effects are still unimpaired. In other particulars the benefits of the law have been greatly modified by hostile propaganda, tending to break down the law

in the regard of uninformed people and inciting to its violation. The law has also suffered because of the apparent complete indifference of the city administration to it. Its present beneficent results are practically automatic. The city administration and the federal administration have not been in a temper to cooperate in enforcement of the law. The prohibition law, however, has been just as well enforced by the police as the law against prostitution. Other laws also are practically ignored by those responsible for their enforcement.

The results of non-enforcement appear chiefly in the recurring frequency of misbehavior and misfortune upon the part of those elements of the population which have already suffered most from alcohol. The habitual drinker, the man with the strongest appetite, is to-day drinking again, going to jail, going to the hospital, applying for poor relief. The steady drinker, not cursed with an unconquerable appetite, has in the main ceased drinking, and his reform is evidenced by remarkable increases in savings deposits, greater home comfort, better health, and general pros-

perity. Prohibition in Chicago has enormously decreased drink-caused crime, sickness, poverty, and death.

The Effect on Crime:

The total arrests for 1921 are very much higher than for 1920. Arrests fell in the first full dry year, 1920, to 94,453 from 110,819 in the last full wet year, 1918. In 1921 there was a very large increase to 125,843, but as police reports were incomplete at the time of investigation, this can not be understood. It is evidently due, however, to police policy. Recent crime statistics of Chicago Institutions indicate a large remaining improvement caused by the prohibition law. A bulletin of the Chicago Crime Commission, for instance, gives figures for murder, burglary, and robbery for the years 1919, 1920, and 1921 as follows:

	Murder	Burglary	Robbery
1919.....	330	6,108	2,912
1920.....	194	5,495	2,728
1921.....	190	4,774	2,588

In 1918 there were 10,124 admissions to the House of Correction. In 1919, this number had fallen to the astonishing figure of 5,723. In 1920, the first full dry year, the number declined further to 4,681. In 1921, however, the figure rose to 8,566 almost double the 1920 rate, but still far below the rate for the last wet year, and still further below the average for the period 1912-1918, which was 13,924. Especially significant is the fact that in 1918 there were 57 per cent. or recommitments, and in 1921 only 35 per cent.

Men whose wicked cause depends upon the deception of the people have recently called attention in the public press to the increase in crime in 1921 over 1920, and have pointed to it as proof of the failure of prohibition. They take it for granted that the public will not remember that both 1920 and 1921 were dry years, and that a correct comparison would be with the last wet year.

The total felony, misdemeanor, and quasi-criminal cases filed in the Municipal Court in 1918, totaled 129,817, and in 1920, the last year shown in the latest available report, was 109,899. In the Morals Court there was a

total of 7,745 cases in 1918, and 4,844 in 1920. An evidence of the different conditions facing the criminal classes is to be found in the Municipal Court Report on restitutions made by those on probation. In 1918 and 1919, 3,815 criminals were admitted to probation and only 2,880 in 1919 and 1920. Nevertheless, the restitutions in the prohibition year amounted to $278,131.47 as compared with $40,611.61 in the wet years. In the Juvenile Court, the Chief Probation Officer, Mr. Moss, reports 3,036 alleged delinquent boys and girls in 1918, and 2,415 in 1921. The alleged dependent boys and girls fell from 2,083 to 1,292.

That drink was very much less of a factor in crime statistics in 1921 than in 1918 was shown by the report of the Medical Superintendent of the House of Correction. There were in 1918, 345 cases of acute alcoholism, and only 61 in 1921. Chronic alcoholism showed 1,614 cases in 1918, and 127 in 1921; 109 cases of delirium tremens in 1918 and 3 in 1921. Nor is there anything to show that prohibition has increased the drug consumption. In 1918 there were 263 cases of chronic

morphinism in the House of Correction, and only 161 in 1921.

Welfare and Relief:

Prohibition has greatly simplified the task of the welfare worker in Chicago. Cases of county relief fell greatly immediately after prohibition. The figures at present, however, are in excess of the last wet year, altho far below the years 1915, 1916, and 1917. At the Cook County Infirmary, however, the total admissions for 1921 were only 2,732 as compared with 3,120 for the last wet year. In his annual report for 1920 (Charity Service Report 1920, pages 95-96) the Superintendent of the Oak Forest Institution says:

"The advent of prohibition undoubtedly has had much to do with the shrinkage of our population. A large percentage of our male inmates come from the lodging-house districts and formerly were heavy drinkers. In the days when liquor was cheap and lunches were served in saloons free of charge, these men were but little interested in caring for themselves outside of living from hand to mouth; the most scanty sort of fare seeming

to satisfy them. Temporary breakdowns in their physical and mental conditions were of frequent occurrence. The Infirmary's doors were open, and they flocked hither in great numbers. They came for repair and they received it. However, about that time the price of illicit liquor began to soar, and as saloon free lunches were no longer spread, there was a noticeable lessening in the arrivals at the institutions. The squandering of earnings, meager as they might be, was halted, with the result that meal tickets and other useful articles were purchased instead; physical and mental breakdowns became a thing of the past, and the habitual poorhouse guests no longer sought shelter there."

The Cook County agent in his report gives some of the causes of distress in some of the cases, and he reports drink as the cause in only eight cases investigated in 1920, and in seventy-six cases investigated in 1918.

The United Charities has had a somewhat similar experience. Cases under care by the United Charities in 1918-1919 numbered 6,842 and in 1920-1921, 5,547. Intemperance as a cause declined from 429 in 1918-1919 to 61

in 1920-1921. It is said by the United Charities that "there is a decrease of 20 per cent. in the number of families whose difficulties were combined with illegitimacy, imprisonment, begging, and non-support during the last two years. The latter factor is fast disappearing. During the same two years, social disease among these families had diminished 22 per cent."

A questionary sent to social workers brought thirty replies. In practically every case the replies reported better family housing, better furnishings, better food and clothing, more luxuries, greater regularity of employment. Twenty-two of the thirty reported special cases of improved family conditions caused by the removal of the liquor temptation. Only one found drunkenness as common now as formerly.

Social workers agree with the statistics that prohibition has worked a revolution in the charity situation. Miss Mary McDowell, one of the most distinguished charity authorities of the country and now head of a department of the Chicago City Government says: "During the first six months of prohibition it was

like day after night. The whole standard of living was raised. I recall many instances; one that I might cite had to do with a family where the father had always drunk; the mother had always had to work—she never bought a new dress or coat for herself, and her children's clothes were made over. Her husband was seldom at home, and when he was there he was quarrelsome. With the coming of prohibition everything changed. The husband brought his wages home regularly. In less than a year after prohibition, they had bought a Ford car. After about six months, people learned to make moonshine and since then the condition has not been so happy. However, there is not the general drunkenness that there used to be. There is never the night fighting on the streets that there always was in the saloon days."

Miss Edna L. Folou, Superintendent of the Visiting Nurse's Association of the same city, says: "The consensus of opinion seems to be that the heavy drinkers are drinking more heavily; in a few instances families are drinking; but that almost without exception, people have been benefited (and the women

particularly) by the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment. Only two nurses in a group of nearly one hundred think the Eighteenth Amendment is a mistake, and both of these are of foreign parentage. One supervisor thinks there is probably one-tenth as much drinking now as there was before prohibition. Another supervisor in one of our largest industrial sections, says 'that there is no comparison; that in spite of moonshining, the women and children and most of the men are better off.' Destitution and poverty has shown a marked decrease in spite of the fact that the industrial depression hit this section uncommonly hard, and low wages and unemployment have never been more serious."

The Superintendent of the Jewish Social Service Bureau, says: "Prohibition has been a blessing in every sense of the term. It is holding families together and is very effective in checking the downward course of young men."

The Jewish Home Finding Society of Chicago through its Superintendent reports: "The neighborhoods in which we work are increasingly clearing themselves of the undesir-

able influences which formerly prevailed around the saloon; social conditions are predominantly favorable to the permanent abolition of a legalized liquor traffic."

Mr. George A. Kolbey, General Manager of the Chicago Christian Industrial League, says: "Conditions are now delightful as compared with the days before prohibition."

Miss Harriet Vittum of the Northwestern University Settlement, says: "There has been a decided improvement in home life and neighborhood conditions since prohibition went into operation; one especially notices the difference on Saturday nights."

The Battle with Sickness and Death:

Chicago now has the lowest death-rate in its history: 11.08 per thousand of population; the previous lowest death-rate on record was in 1904, 13.85 per thousand in a city of 3,000,000. This means a saving of 6,300 lives a year. Deaths from alcoholism in 1917 numbered 160 according to the coroner's report. In 1918 under war-time restrictions, the number fell to 45, and in 1919 to 37. The average for the last seven wet years was 114,

and for the two entirely dry years 41. Deaths from alcoholism not limited to the coroner's statistics total 187 for 1917; 99 in 1921. In 1918, there were 7,000 deaths from pneumonia; in 1921, 2,177. This substantiates the accepted medical opinion that alcohol is a major causative factor in pneumonia. Back as far as 1912, and previous to prohibition, there has not been in any year less than 3,800 deaths from pneumonia. Deaths from tuberculosis of the lungs fell from 3,276 to 1,987 between 1918 and 1921. The average for the years 1912-1918 was well above 3,000. The total number of deaths in 1918 was 44,605; in 1921, 30,819.

In conversation, former Commissioner of Health Robertson said, "Prohibition has had a very favorable effect on the health of the city."

Dr. Carl Mayer of the Cook County Hospital stated: "We practically have not any alcoholic cases any more. Accident cases picked up by the police have markedly declined. We never see any more the typical hospital 'bum.' Tuberculosis patients take their treatment much more regularly and give more cooperation. We used to have fifty or sixty cases

where now we have but one or two straggling in, and these are not usually alcoholics."

The statistics of the Cook County Hospital are very similar to the general health statistics of the city in those items in which alcohol has heretofore been a troublesome factor.

Thrift and Prosperity:

In Chicago, the bank clearings in 1921 were practically the same as in 1918, the last wet year, but the total savings deposits increased from $249,436,913 to $509,086,968. This evidences a striking increase in thrift on the part of those of moderate means.

The Capital Savings Bank quadrupled business; the Noel State Bank nearly doubled its number of depositors; the Home Bank and Trust Company multiplied its savings deposits nearly five times during the period, part of which was due to consolidation, but aside from this, it tripled its savings deposits.

It is noticeable with what frequency banks have been established at old saloon locations. A picturesque change of this character is the establishment of the new Cragin State Bank at Armitage and Grand Streets, on the loca-

tion of old "Whisky Point" saloon. Another such change is noted in the demolition of the old Woodlawn Café at Sixty-third Street and Cottage Grove Avenue, on which site will be erected the new home of the Washington Park National Bank.

Particularly noticeable is the increase in savings deposits in banks which are located in foreign-speaking communities. Bankers are not of two minds in regard to this.

Mr. William J. Rathje, President of the Mid-City Trust and Savings Bank, says: "In my business experience I have never known a time when so many people are investing money in homes. Instead of being $1,500 cottages, we now find that the laboring man purchases and builds homes at a cost of $8,000 to $12,000. The standard of living of the working man has advanced immeasurably since the prohibition law went into effect."

James B. Forgan, Chairman of the Board of the First National Bank, said: "Immediately after prohibition became the law of the land, a large influx of savings accounts was noticeable in our bank, and, I believe, generally in other banks. The number of accounts opened

was steadily increased, showing that the number of thrifty is steadily growing, and I believe that the absence of the saloon is largely responsible for this growth."

Earl H. Reynolds, President of the People's Trust and Savings Bank, asserted that prohibition had "materially benefited and promoted thrift among the people of this country, and consequently has been of considerable value to the comunity."

John J. Abbott, of the Continental and Commercial Bank, said: "Since the date on which national prohibition went into effect, the savings deposits of this bank have increased approximately $10,000,000, or 30 per cent. There is no question that prohibition has contributed very largely to the increase in savings in the United States and is of great economic value to the country."

The General Business Situation:

Employers of labor throughout the city almost invariably declare that prohibition has increased efficiency, decreased absenteeism, and improved the general physical condition of the men. The real estate situation has been

distinctly helped. Under prohibition the total valuation of property has increased nearly one-third. Former saloon sites have been in great demand and have been put to varied uses.

A striking illustration of this effect of prohibition is to be found in the city of Chicago. The loop district of Chicago is perhaps the most congested retail district in the world. Just outside the loop, and on the most important retail street, were the lower State Street saloons. This vicinity was disreputable. "Lady" barber shops, fake auction establishments, penny peep-shows, and low-class employment agencies occupied ground within a few minutes' walk of such great stores as Marshall Field's and Carson-Pirie's. Prohibition came and the owners of these properties were in a blue mood. To-day, rents on lower State Street range from three to five times what they were before prohibition, and the retailers are steadily encroaching upon territory which they redeem as they occupy. As an instance, Hinky Dink's Workingman's Rest Saloon formerly paid $150 rent for the four-story building. According to reports, $500 rent is now paid for the first story alone.

These sites would have been ideal for immense retail establishments, and since prohibition discouraged the former tenants, the section is developing at a remarkable rate, and with the improvements which pay the very highest class of rent. Values on lower State Street have been directly increased by many millions of dollars because of prohibition.

The same story comes from New York, where prohibition has been an incalculable boon to the renters, and where property owners have seen their values increase by a total which would have bought out every liquor establishment in that city.

The city of Chicago is two-thirds "foreign" in its population, the American whites numbering only 31 per cent. Hundreds of thousands of these people have been systematically taught that prohibition was "put over" very unjustly, and that the taking from them of alcoholic drinks constitutes a personal outrage. Everything possible is being done to induce them to believe that prohibition laws should be hated and despised, and that they should be violated on every possible occasion.

Except in the control of the major sources of liquor supply, practically nothing has been done to enforce the prohibition law. Nevertheless, prohibition has worked wonders in the city. The men who are trying to break it down in the affections and convictions of the people, who are trying to create and stabilize a condition of law violation which will discourage loyal American citizens and convince them that the law can not be effectively enforced, are purveyors of crime, disease, and death, and are the enemies of legitimate business as well as enemies of the school, the home, and the church.

This study demonstrates that prohibition with half a chance, and under a city policy of non-enforcement, has been of almost incalculable value to the city. Every argument adduced against prohibition is in fact only an argument against the anarchy which tries to nullify. The policy deserves and should have the confidence and determined support of American business interests and of every agency that is working for human progress.

VI

EFFECT ON AMERICAN PROSPERITY

VI

EFFECT ON AMERICAN PROSPERITY

WHENEVER the subject of prohibition comes up for discussion in the jury room, in the smoking room of the Pullman, on the street corner, or at the club, there is a tendency to test the whole "experiment" by its effect upon crime. Even in the consideration of this one phase of prohibition's effects, there is a notable tendency to base opinion upon vague and general impressions. The average man has read much of a crime wave but knows nothing of the statistics. A stray drunk has impressed his mind deeply because of the very fact that the sale of drink is forbidden, and he fails to remember the drunks who formerly were thrown out of the corner saloons with the "blind staggers," or who, perhaps, awakened him early in the morning by reeling home past his house bellowing profanity at the top of their voices.

The most important effect of prohibition has not been its favorable effect upon the crime

situation. A study of the crime statistics undoubtedly vindicates prohibition, but its work in general has been much more constructive. Will Rogers says, "The great national question to-day is, where are we going to park our cars?" And so it is. Prohibition has brought to the front the average man; has built him a home such as he never saw in his dreams before 1920; has put a modest car at his door and built thousands upon thousands of miles of boulevard to open his way to the fields and flowers; has taken his wife from the wash-tub and allowed her to rejoice in a washing machine, a vacuum cleaner, and a hundred small conveniences which a few short years ago were the marks of moderate wealth. The effect of this is shown in the evident tendency of American-born, intelligent, and fairly well educated young men to become mechanics. The standard of intelligence and breeding among bricklayers, stone masons, machine workers, and similar laborers has been immensely raised by the incorporation within their ranks of men who know that such labor will now reward them with respectable homes and comfortable families. The prosperity of the sober

workman who a few years ago was an object of pity has drawn thousands to his side.

Test this contention by particulars. The year 1922 established new records for the number of homes built, the amount of new insurance written, the value of church buildings erected. Over six thousand new homes were built in each month of 1922 despite the fact that building costs were at the maximum. One sees skilled workmen, who a few years ago lived in very poor cottages and never even hoped for modest luxury, to-day earning wages which will buy less proportionately than the money they received at that time; and yet to-day such men are purchasing houses which cost $9,000, $10,000, and even $12,000—houses which include the best heating systems and all modern conveniences, with a garage at the back and parking at the front door. If we enter the door and sit with the family at the table we find early lettuce and Southern strawberries, with a big glass of milk in front of each child.

A great British scientist recently spoke in regret of the fact that England lacks the sunlight and the milk of America. The sunlight

is the gift of God and the milk is the gift of prohibition.

The physical standard of American people is obviously and certainly rapidly rising during the last few years; and, when the current births come to maturity, the country will certainly see men and women more robust and vigorous than this country has hitherto seen save in a few favored spots. The most important factor in the development of children, so we are told upon good authority, is the generous consumption of milk and butter. The following figures show the quantity of milk consumed for *household* use during the years 1917 (wet) to 1922 (dry) as complied by the United States Department of Agriculture:

Year	Pounds	Per capita lb.
1917 (Wet)	36,500,000,000	42.4
1918 (Wet)	38,900,000,000	43.0
1919	38,619,000,000	43.0
1920 (Dry)	39,090,000,000	43.0
1921 (Dry)	45,143,000,000	49.0
1922 (Dry)	46,672,560,000	50.0

These figures include only milk consumed in the household. The total milk production was more than twice as great, the figures for 1922 being 102,562,-221,000 pounds.

Soon after the coming of prohibition, at the suggestion of one of the leading dairymen of Boston, we wrote the Thatcher Manufacturing Company, largest manufacturers of milk bottles in the country, and got this reply:

"The consumption of milk bottles in this country increased during the first six months of this year fully thirty-five per cent. In talking with a large number of milk dealers in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Chicago, Detroit, and other places, they have all of them expressed the belief that the increased consumption of milk and therefore the increased demand for milk bottles was caused by prohibition. We certainly believe that this is true."

What this means to the country is indicated by the fact that in the recent draft, the average height ranged from 5 feet 4 inches in the wet State of Rhode Island, which has received an undue proportion of immigration, to 5 feet 8½ inches in the dry State of Texas, which is largely old American stock. The dry State of Kansas led the draft in physical fitness. The great hordes of recent immigration, coming largely from countries where childhood has

been thwarted and dwarfed by the substitution of wine and beer for food, imposes upon this country the urgent necessity of bringing these millions to the American standard in a short time; and it is being done by prohibition which is putting milk and eggs, fresh fruit and vegetables before children whose parents knew only black bread and cabbage soup.

During the month of April, 1923, 1,137,000 separate policies were added to the amount of new business by the life insurance companies, exclusive of renewals or revivals, increases or additions paid to policies by dividends. This number is 287,000 more than the previous record month in the insurance world. March, 1922, a prohibition month, previously held the record with 150,000 new policies issued. The value of the new policies for April, 1923, was $727,179,000. The number of policies written in industrial life insurance carried for the most part by wage-earners also breaks all records, 950,000, totaling $208,105,000.

Another heartening effect of prohibition may be found in the crowds of children who are flocking to the schools. There is not a city in this country where the public schools are

not filled to overflowing. In many cities it has been impossible to build permanent accommodations fast enough to care for increased attendance, and temporary buildings are erected. In great cities where efforts are made to keep educational facilities at top-notch of efficiency we find high schools holding two sessions a day, and as thousands of youngsters pour out of the doors at noon, other thousands pour in. The immense impulse prohibition has given to educational effort in the United States is shown by the following figures:

Amounts expended in elementary and secondary schools in the United States for the years indicated:

1916 (wet)	$640,717.053.00
1918 (wet)	763,678,089.00
1920 (dry)	1,036,151,209.00

Receipts of Universities and Colleges:

1916 (wet)	$113,850,848.00
Endowments	19,776,363.00
1918 (wet)	137,055,415.00
Endowments	16,746,140.00
1920 (dry)	189,235,242.00
Endowments	50,906,752.00

These illustrations are merely typical. All business has felt the pulsation of new life. Slipping European markets have been replaced by new and more vigorous demand on the part of Americans themselves. Retail dry goods and grocery establishments universally testify to this fact. Furniture houses, which sell goods upon open account to be paid by instalments, say that the humbler class of people are demanding much better furniture and almost uniformly pay for it regularly and promptly. The sale of graphophones, pianos, and other musical instruments has increased. These statements are not made simply as matters of opinion, but are based upon a mass of testimony secured by the Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals from nearly every important city in the country. One of the largest musical stores in Boston, recently queried, reported sales nearly 50 per cent. greater for the first prohibition year and instalment collections very much better. In the same city the Summerfield Company reported a 100 per cent. increase in the sales of graphophones and the Jewett Company a 25 per cent. increase for the sale of pianos in

the first prohibition year. "Our payments are wonderful since prohibition," wrote Segerson Brothers, furniture dealers, "also our cash sales. Formerly we had 12 per cent. of bad bills, now we can find no bad bills and people are buying better stuff."

"Our collections are approximately fifteen per cent. better than they were in the previous year," writes Frank Ferdinant, Inc., also of Boston, Mr. Victor A. Huth, Manager. "We have had a substantial increase in the sale of talking machines—very nearly 50 per cent."

"There has been a decided increase in the collections on instalment sales of furniture, and we have sold a much larger number of graphophones from last January till now than we have in any other similar period," writes the Castle Furniture Company.

"The middle class of buyers in our line use better goods, and pay for them," says William Leavens & Co., Inc.

"Collections have been 35 per cent. better," writes Mr. S. Hart, whose furniture store is at Charlestown, Mass.

"Twenty per cent. better collections," says the National Furniture Company, and Smith

Brothers reports 33 per cent. better collections.

Mr. Gregory Bartivian, who deals in antiques, says he has sold three times as much goods during the prohibition era as in any previous year.

All of this testimony from Boston. It could be easily duplicated from any section of the country. Particularly notable is the fact that there has been a great increase in the use of laundries due to the fact that women, who were formerly compelled to take in washing for a living because of drunken husbands, are now able to give their attention to their families.

A Realty Paradise:

In a letter to the Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Mr. James L. Brown, of James L. Brown Company, real estate brokers, Louisville, Kentucky, said in part:

"The properties that were formerly occupied by the saloons are now grocery stores, dry goods stores, and shoe shops, etc. There is not a vacant corner in Louisville to-day. When a soft-drink shop drops out

of business to-day, the property is soon rented, and this is happening right along. There is always some kind of business ready to start. In fact, I, myself, am surprised at such a complete change.

"The working man, the mechanic, instead of spending his money for whisky, is living as he never lived before. His children have shoes on their feet, clothes on their backs, and food in their homes. Before prohibition went into effect, our different charity organizations were taxed to their limit. They were clothing the children as well as feeding them. The working man is saving his money, he is putting it in savings banks, and looking forward to the day when he can buy a little home. The men tell me that they do not want to see whisky any more, they do not want it back; they are enjoying their little homes and their families and are living as they never lived before.

"I know men, and meet them on the street, who a few years ago were absolutely worse than worthless. These men spent practically half of their time in the workhouses, or around barrooms. Now, since prohibition, these same men are working every day, providing for their families and have changed so physically, mentally, and morally, since they have left whisky alone that I can hardly recognize them now. The improvement has been one hundred per cent.

"In regard to the collections of rents, and the effect on instalment collections, I wish to state, that they are paying up promptly, meeting all obligations, taking a pride in their homes. It is hard to believe that

such conditions for the better could take place in such a short time. Our Building and Loan Associations have all they can do to take care of the working man who is buying his home. I have sold quite a number of homes to men who have saved from eight hundred to one thousand dollars in the short time that prohibition has been in force, and while these men have saved this money their families have had the necessities and comforts of life. In closing up real estate transactions, these men tell me that the money they are buying their homes with is whisky money that they have saved instead of throwing away.

"I am giving you these facts and they are facts from one who has had over thirty years of experience in collecting rents, renting houses, and selling houses on the instalment plan, from one who has seen these conditions change, from one who has been in these homes.

"There are practically no empty houses in Louisville to-day; there is work for everybody who will go out and get it; prohibition is working wonders. Men are paying their bills, paying their rent, and are looking out for a rainy day.

"I used to spend half of my time in the magistrate courts garnisheeing these men, for not paying their rent. I have not garnisheed a man for over fourteen months.

It is hard to realize the improvement that has taken place. The people who had dirty homes are now living in clean homes and are comfortable. In-

stead of their money going for whisky, it is going for food and clothing, and the necessities of life.

"Louisville to-day is a Paradise compared to what it was before prohibition went into effect."

Mr. Brown, we understand, was not in favor of prohibition before it came and speaks as a business man.

Banks Displace Saloons:

A striking feature of the dislocation of saloon property has been the substitution of large numbers of small banks. The Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals has photographs of numerous banks which are now doing business at locations in working-class communities where formerly banks were little needed.

People have not simply spent more money for amusements and in soft-drink consumption. It has gone into the banks, there to be available for the erection of vast office buildings where saloons formerly did business, for the development of industry to employ more men, use more raw material, and increase the productiveness of the consumer. The bank deposits in the United

States for the years, June 20, 1917, to June 30, 1922, increased as follows:

	Savings Deposits or Deposits in Interest or Savings Department	Time Certificates of Deposit
June 20, 1917		
All banks other than National	$7,219,416,446.49	$1,216,889,181.48
National Banks		2,090,619,000.00
Grand Total		*$10,526,924,627.97*
June 29, 1918		
All banks other than National	$7,727,007,971.21	$1,287,403,150.06
National Banks		2,343,589,000.00
Grand Total		*$11,358,000,121.27*
June 30, 1919		
All banks other than National	$7,375,170,000.00	$1,364,013,000,00
National Banks		2,784,940,000.00
Grand Total		*$11,524,123,000.00*
June 30, 1920		
All banks other than National	$7,493,015,000.00	$1,566,587,000.00
National Banks		3,485,501,000.00
Grand Total		*$12,545,103,000.00*

	Savings Deposits or Deposits in Interest or Savings Department	Time Certificates of Deposit
June 30, 1921		
All banks other than National	$10,184,580,000.00	$1,316,844,000.00
National Banks	2,957,555,000.00	684,039,000.00
Grand Total		*$15,143,028,000.00*
June 30, 1922		
All banks other than National	$10,190,760,000.00	$1,337,278,000.00
National Banks	3,046,647,000.00	995,475,000.00
Grand Total		*$15,570,160,000.00*

It is notable that a great deal of the new money which is coming to the banks comes from working classes and middle classes who put their money in savings rather than in checking accounts.

What the Brewers are Doing:

Nor has prohibition meant disaster to the manufacturing establishments which were engaged in making beer before prohibition. Between July 1, 1918, and July 1, 1919, when wartime prohibition stopped brewing in the United States, 1,092 breweries faced the neces-

sity of changing the nature of their output. Mr. E. H. Cherrington, in an investigation, discovered the following range of transformations:

Several of the important brewing buildings in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio, have been converted into what has already grown to be the largest clothing manufacturing establishment in the world.

The Chicago brewery of the United Breweries Company has been sold at a very handsome price to a stove manufacturing company.

The Southern Brewery of Boston is now a candy factory, as is also the former Liberty Brewery of Pittsburgh.

The National Capital Brewery at Washington, D. C., formerly employing 50 people, and using $130,000 worth of raw materials a year, has been transformed into an ice cream factory, employing 150 people, and using more than $400,000 of raw materials annually.

The Pabst Brewery of Long Island City, New York, is now used as a printing and publishing establishment.

The Bartholomew Brewery of Rochester, New York, is at present a crude-oil refinery turning out fifty tons of crude-oil a day.

The Lembeck and Betz Eagle Brewery of Jersey City, New Jersey, has been converted into a refrigerating plant.

The office portion of the Ballantine Brewery of

Newark, New Jersey, has been transformed into a parochial school.

One of the large breweries in the city of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, is now employed in the manufacture of motorcycles.

The Fortune Brewery of Chicago is part of a plant now employed in the operations of a large paper company.

The Eagle Brewery of Chicago is being used by a meat-packing house as is also the Monumental Brewery of Baltimore, and the Frank Steil Brewery of the same city.

The Mt. Hood Brewery of Portland, Oregon, has been remodeled and used for the smoking and curing of fish.

The Schmidt Brewery of Philadelphia has been transformed into a factory for the production of a substitute for sugar, while the Shemm Brewery of the same city is now turning out maple syrup used in the manufacture of bread and cakes.

The Eagle Brewery of Providence, Rhode Island, which formerly employed 35 men is now employing several hundred men as a syrup factory.

The Dillon Brewery, Montana, has been turned into a hospital.

The Lone Star Brewery of San Antonio, Texas, has been converted into a cotton mill.

The brewery at San José, California, has been employed as a grape-juice storage establishment, accommodating 700,000 gallons of grape-juice.

The Cœur d'Alene Idaho Brewery has been remodeled into a canning factory.

The Hemrich Brewery of Seattle, Washington, has been changed into a chocolate manufacturing establishment, turning out at the present time as many pounds of chocolate each day as it formerly turned out bottles of beer.

Take Carry's in Washington, D. C., as a typical case for investigation. Carry is the Carry Ice Cream Manufacturing Company.

This plant, which was the old National Capital Brewery, when investigated, was turning out 800,000 gallons of ice cream annually. As a brewery, it employed about fifty men. As an ice cream factory, it employs three times as many—one hundred and fifty. As a brewery, it used raw materials to the value of $130,000 annually; as an ice cream factory, it uses raw materials to the value of $400,000 annually. The brewery made about 65,000 barrels of beer each year; the ice cream factory makes more than one fourth of all the cream used by Washington.

Mr. Daniels, general manager, said:

"In 1917, when local prohibition became effective, the annual beer consumption in Washington was about 300,000 barrels, representing a wholesale value of $2,100,000, and a retail value of about $3,300,000. The aggregate annual ice cream production for Washington

is now around 3,000,000 gallons, representing a wholesale value of $3,600,000 and a retail value of $4,200,000."

Death's Hand Stayed:

The important thing to realize is that these establishments were before prohibition actually dealing in death, and that now that trade has been stopped. It may seem absurd to say that the trade in beer is a trade in death but this is so not alone because beer contains the poison alcohol, but because it displaces bread and other comforts and luxuries which contribute to the general health and happiness.

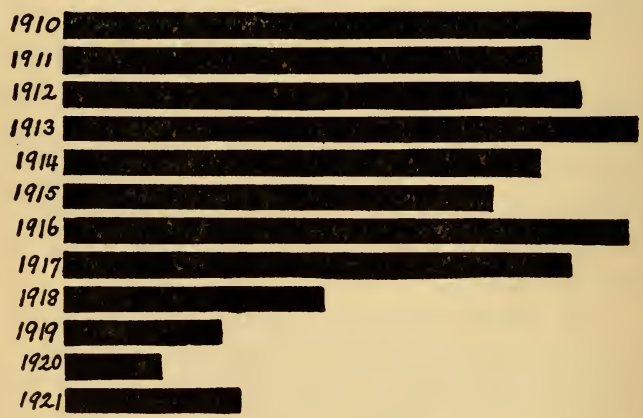
A decline in the death-rate has paralleled the development of prohibition. It has not been entirely due to the prohibition law, but the decline was so sudden and so striking in such great cities as Chicago and Philadelphia as to indicate a direct and startling effect of the dry policy.

The crude death-rate in the United States without the adjustment to population increase, which would show a still further decline for various years before and after prohibition, which went into effect July 1, 1919, is as follows:

(Death-rate, all causes, per 1,000 population in Registration Area)

1917	1918	1919	1920	1921
14.1	18.0	12.8	13.0	11.6

These figures are from page 12 of the Mortality Statistics, 1920, and the 1921 figures are from a special bulletin of the Bureau of Census. The rate for 1921 is the lowest rate recorded in any year since the beginning of the annual compilations. The figures are, of course, only for the registration area.



THE DEATH-RATE FROM ALCOHOLISM IN THE REGISTRATION AREA FROM 1910 TO 1921. NOTE THAT THIS RATE IS FAIRLY UNIFORM UNTIL THE COMING OF THE WAR RESTRICTIONS ON THE SALE OF ALCOHOLIC LIQUORS.

The death-rate in six leading cities of the United States for the years 1917 to 1921, inclusive, indicates the general city situation very accurately and is of particular interest.

DEATH-RATE PER 1,000 IN LEADING CITIES WHICH WERE WET IN 1917

	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921
Chicago	14.8	16.9	12.5	12.8	11.1
Baltimore	18.5	25.7	15.7	15.4	13.8
New York	14.6	17.9	13.3	13.0	11.2
Philadelphia	16.9	24.1	14.3	14.4	12.7
Pittsburgh	18.6	26.8	16.1	16.4	14.1
Boston	17.4	23.6	15.7	15.4	13.5

Of interest as indicating the effect of prohibition are the figures showing the rate of deaths from alcoholism. We give these figures for the years 1910 to 1921, inclusive. It will be noticed that the rate is practically uniform until 1918 in which year the war restrictions on alcoholic liquors and the absence of many men affected it. With the coming of prohibition it declined remarkably and is at present a very low figure.

ALCOHOLISM

(Rate per 100,000 population)

1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915
5.4	4.9	5.3	5.9	4.9	4.4
1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921
5.8	5.2	2.7	1.6	1.0	1.8

The infant mortality rate steadily declines.

The death registration area in 1921 (exclusive of the territory of Hawaii) comprised 34 States, the District of Columbia, and 16 cities in non-registration States, with a total estimated population on July 1, 1921, of 88,667,602 or 82.2 per cent. of the estimated population of the United States.

CRUDE DEATH-RATE IN THE REGISTRATION AREA FOR VARIOUS YEARS. PROHIBITION WENT INTO EFFECT IN JULY, 1919. IN 1918 THE RATE WAS ESPECIALLY HIGH BECAUSE OF THE EPIDEMIC OF INFLUENZA.

These are the important results of prohibition. The favorable effect upon the crime situation, the decrease in alcohol-caused insanity—these may after all be looked upon as by-products only. And yet they are by-products which are exceedingly important. Concerning the effect upon the prevalence of insanity there can be no doubt. If such doubts had existed they are authoritatively and conclusively dissolved by the study of Dr. Horatio M. Pollock, Ph.D., Statistician and Editor New York State Hospital Commission. In a study, which is too lengthy for reproduction here, but which may be found in full in "Mental Hygiene," Dr. Pollock convinces every open-minded student. Dr. Pollock says in part:

"A marked decline in the number of alcoholic first admissions began in 1914 and became more pronounced in 1915. In 1916 a slight change in trend occurred and in 1917 a decided reaction took place. In 1918, 1919, and 1920 the number of these cases fell off rapidly and reached the lowest point in 1920."

Dr. Pollock finds that the rate of first admissions with alcoholic psychoses is correlated

with the per capita consumption of liquors. In 1909 it is given at the basis figure of 100. In 1920 it appears as 19.14. Dr. Pollock finds in conclusion that there has been a marked reduction in prevalence of alcoholic psychoses throughout the United States since 1910, and that the lowest rate of first admissions was reached in 1920 (the first full prohibition year).

And Now for Crime:

The old drinker's toast was, "Here's to crime," and the toast of the new wet propagandist is "Hurrah for crime!" They cultivate it. They urge it. They fertilize the fields of crime with subtle jests against the law and insinuations of imagined tyranny, and then they point to the crop and say, "Aha!"

Prohibition is more important in what it produces than in what it prevents. Nevertheless, it has prevented crime. The general figures collected from more than half a hundred cities by the Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals, and given briefly in a former chapter, deal with the crime situation frankly and we might rest our case there, but

let us investigate its effect in a few specific localities.

Consider Boston. Boston is an Irish city, or at least it is run by the Irish. The eastern Irish are not supposed, as a general thing, to be favorable to prohibition, altho a great many of them are. Boston would hardly be selected as an ideal field for a prohibition test.

Nevertheless, prohibition, immediately after its coming into effect in that city where men in responsible positions despised and hated it, where everything possible was done to thwart it, stood as a sentinel at the jail door and turned away thousands. The Chief Clerk to the Commissioner of the Police Department in the city of Boston wrote to the Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church as shown on page 172.

We see from this that prohibition decreased arrests for drunkenness in Boston from 52,682 for the year ending June 30, 1919, to 16,487 for the year 1920. The street drunk is the bane of every policeman's existence. It takes just as much time to arrest a drunken man, if not as much time to find him, as it does to

HEADQUARTERS 15 BERKELEY SQUARE
EDWIN U CURTIS POLICE COMMISSIONER

City of Boston
Police Department
Office of the Commissioner

November 23, 1920.

Beets Pickett, Esq.
Secretary.

Dear Sir:-

Replying to your communication of the 17th inst., I am directed by the Police Commissioner to state as follows regarding arrests in this City for the offences given in your letter, during the years ending June 30, 1919, and 1920.

Offence.	Arrests for 1919.	Arrests for 1920.
Drunkenness	12,682	16,487
Non-support	862	584
Disorderly	429	416
Assault	2,127	1,673
Lodgings provided	43	40

For the Commissioner,

Thomas [illegible]
Chief Clerk

arrest a murderer, and the drunken man is almost always harder to handle. Having arrested him and lost twenty to thirty minutes from his beat, the policeman must appear in

court against him and lose additional valuable time. The drunkard is the plague of police courts. If prohibition had had no other effect on arrests in Boston it would have justified itself in the worry and toil it has saved the police department in the reduced number of drunks.

It is sometimes contended, however, that the drunk is, after all, a harmless sort of fellow and his offense a trivial one, and the question is asked, "How has prohibition affected the more serious offenses?" The drunk is not harmless. His irresponsible condition makes him potentially almost any kind of criminal. But prohibition *has* affected the crime totals of the more serious offenses. In the year ending June 30, 1919, Boston arrested 2,127 men for assault. In 1920, under prohibition, this number was reduced to 1,673. The *Boston Herald* of December 23, 1920, discusses other crime reductions not mentioned in the letter reproduced with this article.

In the *Herald's* tables, which cover the years ending November 30, 1919, and November 30, 1920, we find a reduction in the cases of manslaughter from 83 in 1919, to 66 in 1920; in

cases of murder, from 24 to 22; in cases of assault with intent to murder, from 77 to 45. It is presumable that reduction in the number of cases of assault is due to the fact that drunkenness often leads to violent and sudden anger, and it is under such conditions that manslaughter is most often committed. Murder, on the other hand, is usually premeditated, and alcohol figures very little as a causative factor in premeditated crime. But even here there is a reduction. Doubtless, we are justified in assuming that even during the few months involved, the closing of the saloons had tended to raise the average of moral character so as to affect even premeditated crime.

Prohibition's Effect on Honesty:

It is not the observation of the writer that drink has had much to do with premeditated offenses against property, except in so far as it has had a tendency to break down character and bring people to distress for want of funds and friends. It is, therefore, something of a surprize to find that in this year of 1920, with crime increasing by leaps and bounds all over

the world, a year of unexampled extravagance and recklessness, with unrest and resentment against governments rolling upon our coasts from Europe like a cloud of poison, that under prohibition Boston decreased its arrests for larcenies from 3,117 in the year ending November 30, 1919, to 2,699 in 1920. All offenses against property both of a casual or premeditated nature, likewise decreased. For the year ending November 30, 1919, there were 716 offenses against property committed with violence and for the following prohibition year only 565. For such offenses committed without violence there was a reduction from 4,310 to 3,486. The number of cases of robbery decreased from 235 to 115, and of breaking into and entering buildings from 449 to 285.

Still more gratifying, and less to be expected, is the fact that the number of cases of forgery and offenses against the currency decreased from 89 to 45. It is very much to be doubted that such offenses are decreasing in the country as a whole, especially in view of the orgy of gambling and extravagance.

There have been, also, well-founded reasons

for believing that delinquency among children is increasing. The further invasion of industrial life by women, and perhaps the widening horizon of women, has contributed to lessen the oversight the children of the nation are receiving. And they, also, have been infected with feverish tendencies of the times. Yet we find that the number of delinquent children in Boston decreased from 3,587 in 1919 to 2,524 in 1920.

In the light of these results prohibition may be said to have done almost the impossible in dealing with Boston crime. The facts have greater significance, because in 1919 thousands of Boston young men were out of the city, while in 1920 the city's full population contributed to the statistics.

These facts from Boston might be duplicated from a hundred cities. Suffice it to say, however, that the workhouse in Cincinnati is closed, papers litter its halls and the cell doors stand open. The county jail at Birmingham, Alabama, was closed by prohibition, as was the county workhouse, Camden, N. J.; the county jail, Fitchburg, Massachusetts; the workhouse at Peoria, Illinois; the House of

Correction at Ipswich, Massachusetts; and other places.

Close akin to the criminal is the bedraggled and wo-begone subject of charity.

An investigation by the Family Welfare Society of Boston, Massachusetts, reveals the fact that prohibition has resulted in a 74 per cent. average decrease in drink cases coming to charitable organizations, the year 1922 (dry) and the year 1917 (wet) being compared. The following are detailed figures from various cities:

Organization	Per cent. Decrease
St. Louis, Mo.—Provident Association	84.5
Chicago, Ill.—United Charities	69.9
Boston, Mass.—Family Welfare Society	72.6*
Pawtucket, R. I.—Associated Charities	82.4
Atlantic City, N. J.—Welfare Bureau	81.4
Newport, R. I.—Charity Organization Society	46.7
Portland, Me.—Associated Charities	97.4
Cleveland, O.—Associated Charities	67.3
La Crosse, Wis.—Social Service Society	88.3
New York City—Charity Organization Society	68.8
Hartford, Conn.—Charity Organization Society.	92.0
Washington, D. C.—Associated Charities	71.7

*Eight months.

Organization	Per cent. Decrease
Rochester, N. Y.—Social Welfare League	88.2
Providence, R. I.—Society for Organizing Charity.	100.0**
Newburyport, Mass.—Community Welfare Service.	84.5
Plainfield, N. J.—Charity Organization Society	72.2
Unnamed city, Wis.—Family Union Society	77.7
Lexington, Ky.—Associated Charities	79.5
Fitchburg, Mass.—Family Welfare Association	99.5
Haverhill, Mass.—Associated Charities	39.0
Portland, Ore.—Public Welfare Bureau (increase).	60.3

**Drink Important Factor.

Mr. William H. Pear is General Agent of the Boston Provident Associations. A report of that organization covers the fiscal year October 1, 1919, to October 1, 1920, and shows but five families out of 760 aided during the year in which intemperance was known to a factor, while for the fiscal year 1919 there were 89 families, or 11 per cent. of all, and 16 per cent. of all for the year 1918.

Mr. Pear quotes Miss Mary Beard, President of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, as saying: "Our nurses in

every section of the city are finding great improvements of conditions in the homes. In some families there was a good supply of liquor on hand; some have home brews; some have substitutes, such as Lily of the Valley perfume and jamaica ginger, but these cases are greatly outnumbered by those where improved home conditions exist, with happy wives and children."

Miss Beard tells the following two stories which, she says, are typical:

"A nurse was hailed from across the street by a woman who was an ex-patient. 'Come over and see my baby-carriage,' she said. 'In ten years, with eight children to carry around in my arms, I have never been able to buy a baby-carriage. Now, thanks to prohibition, I have a baby-carriage, instead of Jack hanging around at the corner saloon.'

"A year ago we received a call to visit a family in which we found three children ill with the measles. The home, children, and mother were in destitute condition, no bedding, little food, and the usual lack of necessities that are to be noted where intemperance rules. The man was, to all appearances, a

confirmed drunkard, seeming not to care that his children had no food, and conditions grew worse as time went on. Then prohibition came, and the impossible seemed to happen. The man went to work and kept at work. After a time he suggested that they move to a better location, as he did not think that his neighbors were very nice. Now wife and children are much better clothed; new furniture has been bought, and the entire family standards are changed."

"The women, in these homes that we know, who in the past have borne the brunt of the hardships," says Mr. Pear, "are almost unanimously in favor of the changed condition. There are only three out of the twenty-six we have studied who protested against the new order. One woman, mother of six children, says: 'I thank God for prohibition, for it has given me a home; and Johnnie is going to high school instead of to work. If you'd told me this a year ago I wouldn't have believed it."

From a hundred cities of America come the same stories. In New York private charity agencies give similar testimony. The

Memorial Hotel of the Salvation Army, 225 Bowery, has 600 beds. Formerly 80 per cent. of the inmates were drunks. To-day Brigadier Welty says that they are all self-respecting working-men and that there are no drunks among them. At the Bowery Mission, where usually 1,500 men are fed at Christmas, only 400 showed up for turkey at Christmas, 1919. At the Water Street Mission there were so few there for noon dinner Christmas Day that the meal was put off until the evening. Finally only 300 were fed.

A Nearly Deserted Port of Wrecks:

The writer went down to Hadley Rescue Hall, the famous mission situated just next to McGurk's Suicide Hall. This institution never accepts pay for anything. Meals and beds, like the Gospel, are free. In 1918, Hadley Hall was so overcrowded that they had homeless men sleeping in the mission auditorium. In the first six months of 1919 while the town was wet, the hall had an attendance of 42,415. During the last six months of 1919, under prohibition, the attendance had fallen to 19,691. During the wet six months,

11,539 free meals were given. During the second six months the number was 8,686. During the wet six months of the year, 4,758 men slept in free beds and only 2,856 during the six months that were dry. During the first six months of the year 22,622 were given shelter, and the total for the second six months was only 8,892. Comparing the wet January of 1919 with the dry January of 1920, we get the following results: January, 1919, attendance, 6,055; January, 1920, 2,257; January, 1919, meals, 1,893; January, 1920, 2,889; January, 1919, beds, 921; January, 1920, 715; January, 1919, shelter, 2,157; January, 1920, 142.

Rev. John Callahan, superintendent of the mission, said to me: "Prohibition has cut our work in half. We have a custom here of giving a man an 'anniversary' when he has gone straight for one year. He may go straight for eleven months and then if he falls he must begin all over again. We have men in here who had been striving for an anniversary for ten years and could never make it until this year. Only recently one man gave me more than $800 for safe-keeping. Two years ago he was

down and out, altho he had struggled hard for twelve years. I meet men every day on the street, well-dressed and prosperous, who used to be in here all of the time."

At this point a well-dressed convert sitting by broke in: "You tell the men up-town," he said, "to do without their cocktails and wine for our sake. It doesn't mean much to them but it means ruin to us to have this thing thrust in our faces at every turn."

Eight years ago the Municipal Lodging House, which is one of Mr. Coler's institutions, and has from 800 to 900 beds, was packed with from 1,500 to 1,800 inmates, I am told. On February 9, 1920, while New York was snowed under, there were only thirty-six inmates in the Municipal Lodging House and there were nearly double that number of employees. "Where have the bums gone?" asked a gentleman in the Commissioner's office. There were only 325 inmates of this lodging house in March, 1919, but since that month the number has gone steadily down until it reached the absurd figure of 1920 and that during the worst part of a bad winter.

It will be said truly that this was the first effect of prohibition in New York and other cities and has not been maintained. But the present charity situation, while modified by failure to enforce prohibition sincerely by all authorities, nevertheless still shows a surprizing improvement over license days. *And once again must be driven home the fact that the first effects were the real test,* that subsequent modification of benefits has been due to non-enforcement and not to any failure of prohibition, and that this non-enforcement has been achieved only by the strenuous propaganda of antisocial forces.

No organization in America is better informed as to the factors entering into the life of the poor and the unfortunate than is the Salvation Army, and no individual is better informed than its beloved Commander, Evangeline Booth. Out of the wealth of her personal experience and the reports of her organization she has drawn the following statement:

"Our Social Secretaries tell us that drunkenness among the men frequenting our hotels and Industrial Homes has almost entirely dis-

appeared. That men who previously had not enough money to pay their way from one day to another, now have money in the bank. In one of our hotels there are 120 men with banking accounts of considerable amounts, who previously could not keep a dollar for twenty-four hours.

"In another hotel twenty-five men, who before prohibition could not muster a dime among them, have deposits ranging from $100 to $500. Paul Stoker, a man who drank every cent of his earnings, has saved $700 since prohibition came into effect. An increase in prosperity and thrift is universally acknowledged.

"Our officers engaged in Prison Work report that the penal institutions are rapidly being depopulated, many of them, like Paterson, New Jersey, reduced from 150 to 14; and Hackensack, in the same State, are converting their jails into dwelling apartments. Prisons in other places are being turned into schools. In our social institutions there have been more conversions, and more soldiers have been made during the past year than in any previous year of our history. Several of our Rescue Ma-

trons, who are also Police Court officers, say that they are not receiving any cases from the courts; whereas before prohibition they had an average of eight to ten commitments a week.

"Needless to say, the experience of our own slum officers emphasizes these benefits. 'Father buys us clothes since prohibition. He used to drink all the money up,' said a little girl of six in Hell's Kitchen last week. They find the home better cared for, and less divided, and where they used to get mother and children only to the meeting, the whole family now attends."

"The entire Army world seems to have heard of our Boozers' day—how year by year we have celebrated the Thanksgiving holiday from six in the morning, collecting the drunks from the park benches, feeding them and sobering them up, and saving them with huge and lasting results. But last year they were not there, and so we gave the day to the poorest children of the great city.

"In large numbers we gathered the underprivileged boys—the little lads who sell the newspapers, the waifs and strays, and even

the crippled who eke out their unhappy existence in the unchanged miseries of the slums. Never shall I forget the upturned faces of the 5,000 of New York's poorest under fourteen, as they lifted their childish voices in the song which must still echo somewhere in Heaven: 'Yes, Jesus loves me, the Bible tells me so!' And never shall I forget the upsurging emotions of admiration and gratitude of my own heart to that Flag that has made it a criminal offense to trade their homes, their bread, their clothing, and their life's blood for the most complete damnation of body and soul gloated over in Hell.

"And this seems to me to be one of the most significant of the early results of prohibition. It means that in the future we shall have less to do with the grave, and more to do with the cradle; less binding up of life's broken plants, and more training of life's untrammeled vines; that more of our energy, our ingenious methods, will be thrown into work of prevention, which in the final analysis must be so much more valuable to the home, the nation and the Kingdom of God than even the most worthy work of cure."

"Will it stand? Without hesitation I answer, Yes! The edifice of prohibition has been well and substantially built, its labor has not been spasmodic nor its material cheap, and what it has taken so many years to raise up would surely take as many years to pull down. Therefore, for the future, we are unafraid. The coming generation, growing up without alcohol, educated in the history of its abuses against hygiene, commerce, and morality, will muster so vast an army against their fathers' greatest foe as to protect from any and every jeopardy the legislation which safeguards their national life."

Cost of Prohibition

Amount of money appropriated by Congress for the enforcement of the Prohibition Law.

Fiscal year ending	
June 30, 1922	$7,500,000
June 30, 1923	9,250,000
June 30, 1924	9,000,000

Each of these annual appropriations includes $750,000 for narcotic law enforcement.

The expenditures in connection with the enforcement of the National Prohibition Act

during the fical year ending June 30, 1922, amounted to $6,543,994.30. The total amount of fines and forfeitures collected through prosecutions in federal courts during the fiscal year, exclusive of collections in the territory of Alaska, was $2,834,685.01. In addition to the above the amount of $1,739,622.80 was paid in compromise, and the amount of $239,-964.14 was collected as taxes and penalties.

The value of property seized and destroyed during the fiscal year amounted to $2,507,-981.80, and the value of property seized and not destroyed amounted to $3,364,110.29.

The fines, other money receipts and valuable property, such as automobiles, seized amounted to $8,178,382.24, and it will be seen that so far from costing anything, the prohibition law has brought in revenue to the government.

VII

LEADING OPINIONS ON PROHIBITION

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WHILE every effort is made to make it appear that the prohibition law is unpopular, a careful probing of the opinions of prominent men and women in every walk of life will show conclusively that prohibition has the support of the solid elements of American society.

In an interview published by *The New York Times,* July 31, 1923, Judge Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the Board of the United States Steel Corporation, stated that observation and reports from officials of the Steel Corporation in plants throughout the country furnished a convincing argument for the retention of complete prohibition, and he declared himself against any modification of the prohibition laws.

"Of course, there are always some persons who will object to the passage or enforcement of any penal or prohibitory law and, as a rule, they are the men who do the most talking on the subject," Judge Gary said.

"I have no hesitation in saying with emphasis that the Volstead Act and State laws for prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors have been very beneficial to the industry of this country and to the workmen connected with it, and their families

"While there have been violations of these laws, particularly in the larger cities, while there has been illicit manufacture of 'hootch,' so called, and while there has been more or less bootlegging, yet as a total result of the prohibitory laws there has been a large decrease in the use of liquor, at least in the vicinity of our various plants throughout the country.

"There has been a noteworthy decrease in the number of jails, asylums, and hospitals. There has been an increase, and a large increase, in the bank balances of savings deposits. The health of the people has improved. The families of workmen are better clothed and better treated. The attendance of the workmen and their families at church, of the children in schools, and of all of them at clean, legitimate, healthful resorts and places of amusement, has materially increased.

"The sale and use of automobiles has been largely increased by the fact that a large majority of the workmen now prefer to take excursions with their families by automobile instead of spending their time at the saloons or other places and wasting their money in practises that are physically injurious instead of beneficial.

"At a meeting of steel men recently, it was stated

by one of those present that the families of the workmen in the steel mills would vote with practical unanimity in favor of total prohibition, altho some of the husbands might, perhaps, be in favor of the sale of beer and light wines.

"All in all, however, there is no doubt that a large preponderance of the workmen of this country are in favor of the prohibition of the sale and use of all intoxicants from the standpoint of good morals, good economics, and peaceful social relations.

"We should all remember constantly that if any one law is broken and the offender is unpunished or unprotected, some other person may decide to take the same course with respect to another law. It is a simple but important fact that the only safety of this country is found in the adoption and enforcement of laws which are calculated to protect all the people and which discriminate against none."

The Manufacturer's Record of Baltimore, one of the most influential industrial periodicals published, some months ago queried a very large number of prominent people in the nation as to the effect of prohibition on labor, savings, the standard of living, and sobriety. The questionary went particularly to business men.

In a careful compilation of all replies received by *The Manufacturer's Record,* the

tabulation gives the following remarkable results in percentages of the total:

	Per Cent.
For Prohibition in Some Form	98.50
Against Prohibition	1.50
For Strict Prohibition	85.50
For Beer and Wine	7.00
Against Volstead Law or Present Regulations	1.25
Wants Volstead Law Modified	.75
Advocates High License or Government Control	1.00
Advocates Dispensary System	.25
Undecided or Noncommittal	2.75

Several of the statements of these people referred to a statement authorized by President Harding and consequently we give the text of the President's opinion.

"In every community men and women have had an opportunity now to know what prohibition means. They know that debts are more promptly paid; that men take home the wages that once were wasted in the saloons; that families are better clothed and fed, and more money finds its way into the savings banks. The liquor traffic was destructive of much that was most precious in American life. In the face of so much evidence on that

point, what conscientious man would want to let his own selfish desires influence him to vote to bring it back? In another generation I believe that liquor will have disappeared not merely from our politics, but from our memories."

These men of large affairs, in answer to *The Manufacturer's Record,* sent some remarkable letters which we wish we could quote in full. As this is impossible, we lay before our readers some sentences and paragraphic extracts which tell the story in brief:

"With the coming of prohibition our troubles from drink disappeared. Under the saloon system, for two or three days after each pay-day we had trouble to secure men to man our plant. This has been entirely eliminated, absenteeism from work at other times has been very greatly reduced and efficiency improved. The passing of 'hang-overs from a sloppy night before' has created a better feeling, resulting in fewer grievances." —N. G. Spangler, General Manager, The Jackson Iron & Steel Company, Jackson, Ohio.

"My observation of the effect of prohibition, has been that it is an incalculable economic and moral blessing to millions of our people, and to the nation as a whole."—J. W. March, President, Standard Underground Cable Company, Pittsburgh, Pa.

"Are glad to advise you prohibition has done wonders in our city."—H. B. Smith, Secretary and Treasurer, McInnes Steel Company, Ltd., Corry, Pa.

"There has been a steady and marked improvement in the moral, mental, and physical condition of the people, and no class has felt more beneficent effects than the laborer."—John W. Sibley, General Sales Manager, Birmingham Clay Products Company, Birmingham, Ala.

"The poorer classes of people throughout the country and all those of every class living in the smaller cities, towns, and country districts are those who have been chiefly benefited by prohibition. In the smaller cities and towns and in the country districts thousands of homes have been built which would not have been built, and millions of women and children have been provided with food and clothes who would have suffered for these necessities if there were no Eighteenth Amendment."—J. E. Edgerton, President, Treasurer, and General Manager, Lebanon Woolen Mills, Lebanon, Tennessee. (Mr. Edgerton was also President of the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States.)

"I find a marked improvement in the number of men who are saving their money and who own their homes or are buying their homes, and I find a decided improvement in the home life of the workers due to the fact that the women and children have more food, more clothing and better care in every way. Back of all that, the worker takes his family and goes to the

picture show or to the park now, when he formerly spent his evenings in the saloon drinking and spending his money."—W. S. Stone, Grand Chief, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Cleveland, Ohio.

"Drunkenness is not nearly as common at present as it was."—F. M. Hodge, President, Kalamazoo Paper Company, Kalamazoo, Mich.

"Prohibition is one of the most beneficent influences which this country has ever enjoyed. I confidently believe that if the question were now put to a nation-wide referendum, there would be an overwhelming majority in favor of a continuance of the prohibition measures."—Charles Thaddeus Terry, a leading New York Attorney, 100 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

"We would consider it from a business standpoint a great calamity if drink were made accessible as it was before the enactment of constitutional prohibition. I am thoroughly confident that, throughout the South, where the cotton-mill industry has been developed to such a great extent in the last quarter of a century, there can be found no mill owner who would not agree that the prohibition of the liquor traffic has added greatly to the well-being of his people as well as assuring them much better and happier homes."—R. A. Schoolfield, Riverside and Dan River Cotton Mills, Danville, Virginia.

"The economic value of prohibition is so great that no effort on the part of the would-be drinkers will ever be able to restore the old conditions. From the point of view of public health, prohibition has been

a wonder worker."—Harvey W. Wiley, M.D., Bureau of Foods, Sanitation, and Health, Washington, D.C.

"Anything that has been said in favor of prohibition in days gone by has been fully confirmed by the experience through which we are now passing."—John M. Young, President, Sweet's Steel Company, Williamsport, Pa.

"Candor compels the fair-minded to admit that prohibition is already a great tho not perfect success."—Rockwell H. Hunt, Director of the College of Commerce and Dean of the Graduate School, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif.

"The change in the habits of the people has been marvelous. Better fed, better clothed, better housed, more and cleaner recreation."—David D. Lupton, David Lupton's Sons Co., Philadelphia.

"I think likely there are few cities in our country where the enforcement of this act has been more difficult than in Milwaukee, but even here, with the strong sentiment against it growing out of our large foreign population, there have been unmistakable advantages and relief, and when enforcement can be made more thorough, the relief and benefit at present experienced will be largely increased."—E. J. Lindsay, Lindsay Bros., Inc., Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

"Having to do with the handling of workmen, I can see the wonderful difference now and before prohibition. It is said that prohibition does not prohibit, but it does. As to actual drunkenness, we seldom see anything of that kind in this city."—Arthur R. Bax-

ter, The Keyless Lock Company, Indianapolis, Indiana.

"I am not only in the banking business where I can observe the financial effects of prohibition, but I am in the manufacturing business where we employ large numbers of men. We used to be constantly annoyed and our business interfered with after pay-day by drunkenness and absenteeism. Under prohibition we have none of either."—F. N. Briggs, President, The Interstate Trust Company, Denver, Colorado.

"We have no trouble whatever among our employees, and all manufacturers in this district agree that trouble among employees from liquor has almost disappeared."—Harry H. Willock, Secretary and Treasurer, Waverly Oil Works Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.

"Since prohibition went into effect we do not see drunken men on our streets; neither do we hear of drunken men abusing their wives and children."—R. H. Scott, Vice-President and General Manager, Reo Motor Car Company, Lansing, Michigan.

"It is now a rare thing to see a drunken man on the streets. It is an indubitable fact that absence from places of employment on account of drunkenness has been largely eliminated. . . . Prohibition, notwithstanding violation of the law, which is more or less a passing phase, has already proved to be the greatest benefit to the country."—A. B. Farquhar, York, Pa.

"The good effects of National Prohibition are to be found all about us, on every hand."—E. N. Foss, President, B. F. Sturtevant & Company, Inc., Boston, Mass.

"There has been a wide improvement in the home life of the nation under prohibition and a betterment of the conditions of the people through savings."—E. J. Stackpole, President and Editor, Harrisburg Telegraph, Harrisburg, Pa.

"We are extremely pleased with the results, and we are confident if it were put to a vote of our men in our factory to-day, our factory would vote 'dry' by a large majority."—Chas. Zorm, President and Manager, The Canton Malleable Iron Co., Canton, Ohio.

"From the standpoint of industry alone we feel that prohibition is more than justifiable, and we will continue to take as strong a stand against it as we ever have in the past."—D. Seltzer, Vice-President and General Manager, The Ohio Cultivator Company, Bellevue, Ohio.

"I am not a Prohibitionist myself but look upon this matter purely from a scientific and common-sense standpoint. In my own business, conditions have been greatly improved since our employees no longer have free and unlimited use of liquor; and from conversations I have had with hundreds of retail merchants throughout the country. I am convinced that the theory that the country in general would be benefited by prohibition has been proven in fact."—Edward Freschl, President, Holeproof Hosiery Co., Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

"I am rejoicing in the fact that undeniable evidences as I see them all about me lead me to the inexorable and inevitable conclusion that with all the

obstructions placed in the way of enforcement of prohibition by the nefarious liquor traffic, the advance step that we have taken is so astounding as to be absolutely surprizing to me that such beneficent results could have been secured in such a short period of time."—W. H. Thomas, Attorney at Law, Los Angeles, Calif.

"Thinking Southern men have seen no reason to change their views. The South was the first section to take up prohibition and it is proud of the fact."—George F. Milton, Editor, *Chattanooga News*, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

"Looking at prohibition from a purely economic standpoint, I think that all employers of labor, regardless of their personal opinion, will agree that it has been beneficial both to the workmen and to business."—Isaac F. North, President, American Soda Fountain Company, Boston, Mass.

"I consider prohibition one of the greatest blessings to the human race that has come within a generation."—J. R. Moore, Treasurer, Alexander Manufacturing Company, Forest City, North Carolina.

"As an employer of labor, it has been my province to watch the effects of prohibition upon our twelve to fourteen hundred people, and we find that the laboring man and his family have directly benefited in large degree by prohibition, in fact, more than any other class in America. Better living, better clothing, cleaner and better social life, happier homes with more contentment, better and steadier workers, aver-

aging more efficient, and with less sickness and lost time, are some of the benefits to the workers and society in general."—J. J. Phoenix, President, Bradley Knitting Company, Delavan, Wisconsin.

"By observation we know that prohibition has worked wonders for industry and the homes of America."—Ed. L. Thomas, President, Thomas Grate Bar Company, Birmingham, Alabama.

"Six years ago it was not uncommon to meet five to eight intoxicated men on my way home every evening, while during the past four or five years I have not seen more than a half dozen altogether."—E. H. Reid, West Coast Steel Company.

"The general effect upon the welfare of the United States has been immeasurable."—Ray Lyman Wilbur, President, Leland Stanford Junior University, Calif.

"There is no question as to the benefits of prohibition to the workers in our industries. In the South we have noted a wonderful change for the better along all lines of educational and church work, and the operatives are much more steady and of a higher type of character."—L. P. Hollis, Victor Monaghan Company, Greenville, South Carolina.

"Personally we have not seen a drunken man during the past two years, while before prohibition was enacted it would not be an uncommon thing to see a half dozen on the street during a day. The economic value of prohibition is beyond our computation."—W. H. Cowdery, President, The American Fork & Hoe Company, Cleveland, Ohio.

"Less lost time, less accidents, less incompetence, less carelessness and inefficiency, better work, better homes, more thrift, happier families, and sober and safer and more efficient men who now are finding out what it means to really live where they formerly merely existed."—George M. Verity, President of The American Rolling Mill Company, Middletown, Ohio.

"Economic conditions amongst the laboring classes are distinctly improved as a result of enforced prohibition."—H. E. Robertson, M.D., University of Minnesota.

"The members of this firm could not possibly be more convinced of the great value of total prohibition of all alcoholic beverages than they are at the present time."—Harold F. Coppes, Coppes Brothers & Zook, Nappanee, Indiana.

"The efficiency of labor has been increased to a very large extent, and the accidents around our plants have been reduced at least 75 per cent."—C. A. Moffett, President, Gulf States Steel Co., Brimingham, Alabama.

"Nothing since the application of modern bacteriology to the control of communicable diseases will have so powerful an effect in reducing the incidence of disease and the general death-rate as prohibition."—Haven Emerson, A.M., M.D., Lecturer on Preventable Disease and Public Health Administration at Columbia University and Cornell University Medical Schools.

"I live in a manufacturing community, have a large number of manufacturers as customers, and I know it to be a fact that prohibition has improved the mental, moral, and physical condition of the operatives in our mills."—Bird W. Spencer, President, People's Bank and Trust Co., Passaic, New Jersey.

"There can be no possible doubt about the fact that even here wonderful good has already resulted from the operation of the law."—Preston A. Vought, Attorney at Law, Mount Carmel, Pennsylvania.

"There is no question in our mind but what it has been very beneficial to our town and community."—J. M. Jackson, Secretary, Roanoke Mills Co., Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina.

"In Detroit the favorable effects of prohibition are apparent to even a blind man, and this is despite the fact that we are but across the river from wet Canada and have a large population accustomed to drinking liquor."—Henry M. Leland, former President, Lincoln Motor Company.

"It is more than probable that twenty-five years from now the average American man or woman will no more think of taking alcohol habitually than they now think of taking opium habitually."—Lawrence F. Abbott, President, The Outlook Co., New York, N. Y.

"Prohibition has proven a large factor in the increase of savings accounts in this city."—Huston Quin, former Mayor, Louisville, Kentucky.

"There is a great diminution in general drunken-

ness and its evil effects."—L. M. Johnston, Second Vice-President, A. M. Byers Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.

"Since prohibition went into effect, we find our employees are steadier and much better fit for their day's operation."—H. E. Gross, General Superintendent, A. M. Byers Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.

"Not more than 10 to 20 per cent. of drunkenness exists at the present time as compared with the time of the open saloon."—John S. Bradley, Vice-President and Manager, Bradley Logging Co., Portland, Oregon.

"Prohibition has served the very good purpose of better conditions for the home, as drunkenness is much less common."—Isaac M. Scott, President, The Buckeye Rolling Mill Co., Steubenville, Ohio.

"There is no law that has been enacted that has done the good that the prohibition law has."—Aug. W. Smith, President and Treasurer, Brandon Mills, Greenville, South Carolina.

"Prohibition is of untold benefit both to the individual who is practising it, and to those who are dependent on him for support."—M. M. McCall, President and Treasurer, Opelika Cotton Mills, Opelika, Alabama.

"The Volstead Act has been the greatest step forward, morally and economically, in the history of the country."—A. B. Bryant, President, The First National Bank, Gardiner, Mass.

"Taking the country as a whole, notwithstanding the misleading propaganda of the organized wets, I feel sure, from all the evidence available, that drunken-

ness is far less common than it was under the open saloon and licensed liquor traffic."—George Elliott Howard, University of Nebraska.

"The events of the last five years have greatly strengthened my opinions in favor of prohibition as a necessary and permanent policy for our nation."—John H. Gray, Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota.

"I am more fully convinced than ever that prohibition is good, and that the enactment of our prohibition laws marked one of the greatest advances in civilization that the world has ever experienced."—J. Hammond Smith, University of Pittsburgh.

"Doubt has been removed by the remarkable results that have been accomplished by national prohibition."—Courtenay Guild, *The Commercial Bulletin*, Boston, Mass.

"Prohibition has had a marked effect in bettering the situation economically and morally."—Frank L. McVey, President, University of Kentucky, Lexington.

"Drunkenness is very greatly decreased."—J. R. Johnson, Dean, The University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

"While I am not a believer in prohibition . . . there is no question in my mind that it has been a great help to industry as a whole. Very few men are now absent after pay-day, whereas, in the old days we used to count on a fairly large percentage. This money is undoubtedly being spent in a wiser manner than it was in the past, and I believe it will be for

the ultimate benefit of the country to have some sort of prohibition in effect."—D. C. Bakewell, President, Duquesne Steel Foundry Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.

"A drunken man on the streets is a very rare sight now, but used to be very common. Our men are scarcely in any way interfered with in their work and in their family lives by the ravages of drink."—Charles L. Huston, Coatesville, Pa.

"The average home is better equipped and cared for and the bills are better paid."—Clay H. Hollister, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

"My observation has been that far-reaching and important benefits have already been derived. Savings institutions have seen a rather rapid increase in the volume of deposits."—B. H. Fancher, Vice-President, The Fifth Avenue Bank of New York.

"The Eighteenth Amendment was the longest and most effective step forward in the uplift of the human race ever taken by any civilized nation."—Henry Louis Smith, President, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia.

"From my own observation I believe that the economic effect of prohibition has been good."—S. T. McCall, Vice-President, American Manganese Steel Company, Chicago.

"I endorse most heartily President Harding's statement as to the effect of the prohibition law on the lives of our laboring people, and repeat in substance with emphasis his statement, that with these facts facing us I do not see how any man having proper

regard for the best interest of his country could conscientiously vote to bring liquor back or vote to license the sale of light wines and beer, which would in the end in actual results be the same thing."—R. T. Jones, President, Canton Cotton Mills, Canton, Georgia.

"Since prohibition went into effect there has been a very decided decrease in drunkenness and abject poverty caused by the former wide consumption of liquor."—Ralph W. Harrison, Pittsburgh, Pa.

"As to drunkenness—I travel a great deal throughout the Southern States, and I can safely say that I have not seen two drunken men, where at least fifty before prohibition disgraced our thoroughfares."—William S. Witham, Miami Bank and Trust Co., Miami, Florida. (Mr. Witham has been the organizer of 150 banks, all in successful operation.)

"Those who are interested in the care and treatment of mental disorders found a marked decrease of disorders due to alcohol during the last few years. Wards formerly used for the care of alcoholic patients are now used for other purposes. There has been a great falling off in the admission of alcoholic mental disorders to the hospitals for the insane in this country."—Albert M. Barrett, M.D., President, American Psychiatric Association, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

"The consumption of liquor among the average working men has been greatly reduced. . . . In cities the size of Lansing, liquor drinking is very little in evidence as compared with conditions before prohibition."—Clarence E. Bement, Vice President and

General Manager, Novo Engine Co., Lansing, Michigan.

"Drunkenness has been very largely reduced, and I believe is getting less steadily, and will continue to decrease as time goes by."—F. E. Swift, President, The National Bank of Auburn, N. Y.

"Labor has benefited from prohibition in all the particulars mentioned in your question."—Ben W. Hooper, United States Railroad Labor Board, Chicago, Illinois, and ex-Governor of Tennessee.

"Already the effects are sufficiently marked to show the importance of the move we have made, and it is my conviction that as time goes on the benefits will become more marked."—W. B. Cannon, M.D., Professor of Physiology, Harvard Medical School, Boston.

"The effects of prohibition on the operation of our factory have been of a very marked character. . . . This propaganda that more liquor is now being consumed than formerly, is, to use a slang expression, 'all bunk'."—R. A. Cochran, Treasurer, January and Wood Company, Maysville, Kentucky.

"I should say that there is not 25 per cent. as much drunkenness in this territory now as existed prior to prohibition."—F .G. Fitzpatrick, Director, Brown Durrell Co., Boston, Mass.

"The people are consuming only a fraction of the liquor they were before the country went dry."—J. S. Baker, President, Baker Manufacturing Company, Evansville, Wisconsin.

"At our mines for the first nine months after the State of Michigan went dry, the number of days absence from work due to accidents fell off 68 per cent." —D. H. Campbell, Mining Engineer, Iron River, Michigan.

"A great amount of good has already been accomplished by prohibition. While it has been apparently impossible to enforce the laws strictly, the securing of liquor is becoming more and more difficult and dangerous."—H. S. Fredenburgh, Secretary, The Goulds Manufacturing Co., Seneca Falls, N. Y.

"So far as my observation goes it has improved the conditions of home life. Particularly the conditions of life for women and children in homes where the money was formerly spent for drink."—A. N. Holcombe, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

"There is much less drunkenness, people are working more steadily, and there is a wonderful gain all around."—F. O. Wells, Greenfield, Mass.

"We believe prohibition is a good thing. We want to see it remain a law of the land."—W. E. Guack, Superintendent, Service Department, The Carborundum Company, Niagara Falls, N. Y.

"There is no comparison between the public drunkenness of the days before prohibition and that at the present time."—Chas. A. Perkins, Ph.D., University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

"Labor conditions have been very much improved since prohibition came into effect."—Benj. F. Bailey, Ph.D., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

"While we are experiencing many difficulties in the enforcement of the measure and see the development of some peculiar reactions in the attitude of the public toward the Prohibition Act, the results of prohibition are altogether positive in our opinion, and as far as we can learn the people do not want to go back to the open saloon."—Chas. A. Lory, President, State Agricultural College, Fort Collins, Colorado.

"Our opinion of the Eighteenth Amendment has changed materially. When the law went into effect we had some doubts as to the possibility of the practical enforcement of the law. Now we have none. . . . Again, at that time we thought the benefit of the amendment would be incalculable—now we know it. Prohibition was, in a sense, our principal gain from the great war; and it is worth our present national debt twice over."—R. M. Downie, Secretary and Manager, The Keystone Driller Co., Beaver Falls, Pa.

"I am sure it is a great blessing to our industries that work many laborers. This is my experience as a manufacturer, and information which I receive from other manufacturers. Even those who were opposed to the amendment say that it has been a great benefit in their business."—A. D. Reynolds, Bristol, Tennessee.

"The money formerly spent on drink is spent for other things, and the loss to the liquor business is therefore fully made up by the gain in other lines of business."—T. N. Carver, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

"Our various plants report a noticeable improvement in the habits of workmen, particularly those of foreign birth, since the abolition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors."—Charles Piez, President, Link-Belt Company, Chicago, Ill. (Mr. Piez was General Manager and Vice-President of the Emergency Fleet Corporation during the war.)

"A wonderful amount of good has already been accomplished."—Heber J. Grant, President, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

"I do not see how, among people who place the welfare of humanity above an accidentally acquired habit of some individuals, there can be any difference of opinion concerning alcohol prohibition."—Max F. Meyer, Ph.D., University of Missouri.

"The foolish rich probably drink as much as before prohibition, or more. The ordinary man certainly drinks less, and from the economic, medical, and penological standpoint, gains are still very clear, tho not quite as great in 1921 as in 1920."—Richard C. Cabot, M. D., Boston, Mass.

"Yes, prohibition is a great blessing to this country, and our children's children, fifty years hence, will probably wonder why their ancestors ever allowed such an iniquity as the saloon to exist in this fair land of ours."—D. M. Bare, Roaring Springs, Pa.

"The majority of drinking men have simply stopped drinking, found other pleasures, and are heartily glad of the change."—Wm. Goodell Frost, President, Berea College, Berea, Kentucky.

"From an economic standpoint entirely, prohibition has been a great benefit to all employers of labor."—H. W. Coffin, Vice-President, The Alabama Company, Birmingham, Alabama.

These quotations represent only about half of the statements made to *The Manufacturer's Record* by people of importance, some of them known the world over. The statements, quoted, however, are typical.

The Literary Digest of July 7, 1923, quoting a dispatch from a Philadelphia correspondent of the *Daily News Record,* reports a careful study of the effect of prohibition laws on business in Philadelphia. This report says that it did not find in any cases any opinion that prohibition has been detrimental to business. Some few find its effect negligible. Others, however, find that the Volstead Act has resulted in diverting the money formerly spent for alcoholic liquors into the clothing, furnishing, and furniture stores, and has been immensely beneficial to business.

So speaks America's business and professional strength. The churches joined hands with business to bring prohibition to America, and to-day they have the same patriotic deter-

mination to sustain it. Various denominations can not be quoted, but the following statement from the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, representing 20,727,319 members of thirty Protestant evangelical denominations, is typical of the position taken by practically all Protestant Churches:

"The people of the United States adopted national constitutional prohibition after generations of agitation and education, and with a larger majority than any other amendment to the constitution. After three years it is demonstrated that prohibition has produced wide benefits despite difficulties in enforcement and constant misrepresentation.

"The President of the United States in his last message to the Congress called attention to the violation of this amendment and affirmed the purpose of the federal government to secure the effective enforcement of national prohibition. Respect for the constitution and observance of the laws of the United States are the foundation stones of our national security, and upon these depend the perpetuity of our free institutions.

"We call upon the Christian citizens of the nation to sustain the expressed purpose of the federal government to enforce the law; to report violations of it to the proper officials as is their duty so declared by the

United States Supreme Court; and to support all local, State and federal officers who obey and effectively enforce this law in accordance with their oath of office.

"By every moral standard the buyer of illicit liquor is as guilty as the seller and becomes legally guilty as soon as he possesses it. We call upon law-abiding citizens to discourage such traffic.

"The enforcement of constitutional prohibition requires an effective enforcement act. Any weakening of the law by permitting the sale of light wine and beer would be practical nullification.

"The churches have a special responsibility to interpret to the people the meaning and demonstrated benefits of prohibition, to set forth the reasons for personal total abstinence, and to build on firm foundations respect for all law.

"The education and mobilization of a public conscience favorable to the retention and enforcement of the law are fundamental to its success.

"The churches of America were largely responsible for the creation of the public sentiment which resulted in the adoption of this amendment. The church has a continuing responsibility to create and maintain the necessary public sentiment to enforce the prohibition law. The church has the same obligation to finish this task that it had to initiate it."

VIII

HOW TO MEET NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

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I. Propaganda is a very significant word. When it indicates the crystallizing of patriotic sentiment, the solidarity of intelligent action, either religious, political or military, it is impossible to measure its meaning or its far-reaching implications. This was demonstrated during the World War when all the currents of public opinion were brought under high control, the fighting strength of the nation centralized, the wealth of the people placed under tribute, and the menace of anti-American agencies cowed into inactivity and silence. But this art can be used by evil men as well as good, and we have seen the utmost that it can do in the anti-prohibition movements that have been started in the last three years.

1. First, the country was told that the

long-haired men and the short-haired women, having put prohibition over while the Wise Ones were not looking, now had an amendment to the constitution forbidding the raising, selling, or use of tobacco. The fact that no such law was ever formulated, much less presented, did not discourage them in the least. They told it until millions believed it, and they continued to repeat it until they almost believed it themselves.

2. They then declared that the Women's Christian Temperance Union was going to offer an amendment forbidding coffee and tea, but this overdid the matter and was causing a reaction when a new story was sprung. It was the old "blue law" libel of New England, written by a Rev. Samuel Peters, a Tory minister who, expelled from the American colonies for his anti-Revolutionary sympathies, got out a book of calumnies against New England and especially against the Connecticut Colony. This man actually asserted that the waters of Bellows' Falls were so compacted by induration in passing through the solid rock walls that they became so hard that one could not insert a crow-bar into them. The acceptance

of this story proved that his century was not exactly a scientific age. He told fifty things equally as false about the laws of New England and labeled these imaginations "Blue Laws."

The wets in the last two years have taken this greatest liar since Ananias and Sapphira as their patron saint, and his most colossal falsehood as their choice text, and are trying to excite the American people against so-called "Blue Laws" when there is not such a law proposed in any State of the Union, and no one of them has ever been presented to Congress or formulated by that body.

3. The next wave of propaganda was to come in the Fall election of 1922, when it was expected that an overwhelming sentiment for light beers and wines would sweep all the drys out of Congress, and out of power in the several States, and elect only those who were in harmony with the beer and wine modification of the Volstead Act.

But we came through the election with as many dry victories in hotly contested campaigns as ever; and instead of having a wet Congress we have actually reelected in the

Lower House 224 bone drys, and reelected only 79 wets, or damps. We have elected 72 new pronounced dry members of the lower house and at the utmost only 54 possible wets, and have a net gain of three more votes upon our already overwhelming dry majority in the Senate; while Ohio, always a pivotal State, rolled up a 187,000 majority against beer and wine, and buried the wets under an avalanche of prohibition ballots. California, the boasted wet State, the home of the wine interests, passed the bone-dry Wright Bill by a majority of approximately 48,000; and tho New Jersey has elected Edwards, the wet, New York has elected Copeland, the Methodist. Tho Volstead was defeated by a combination of two parties against his one, a bone-dry prohibition preacher comes into Congress to take his place, which is not quite a victory for the wets. And Ohio has removed Pomerene, a damp United States Senator, and made place for the leader of the drys, Simeon D. Fess, in the United States Senate; has elected a bone-dry Governor, and has made the author of the dry laws under which she has been governed, Mr. Crabbe, the Attorney General of the State.

Wets Won Wet States Only:

As the writer surveys the situation, wherever a wet representative was elected or a wet measure passed, instead of its signifying a change of sentiment, it will be found that the results came directly from an already wet State or subdivision thereof; they did not signify a change for the worse in a single instance, but only the continuance of damp weather in Massachusetts and New Jersey, while the overwhelming vote of California and of Ohio indicate tremendous gains for the drys.

That this is not an eccentric view of this election's results is indicated by the following letter from President Harding's secretary:

The White House,
Washington, D. C.,
November 16, 1922.

My Dear Dr. Wilson:

The President has received your letter of November 9th. He asks me to make acknowledgment and to say that he accepts your analysis of the election results as the correct one.

George B. Christian, Jr.

II. The lesson to the drys of the recent election is that if we want to make the country distinctly dry we must begin now an educational campaign that shall be as thorough as that by which we won prohibition:

First, for law obedience, until we create a conviction that will make people wish to obey the law and use their personal influence against its violation.

Second, for law enforcement that shall take charge of the criminally disposed and make them obey the law.

Third, for law respect, until the whole public shall see that prohibition has not been a detriment to the State, but that it has been of tremendous benefit to the individual and to society.

To this end the pulpits, the Sunday-schools, the day schools, the independent and respectable newspapers, should renew their lessons of temperance, abstinence, and prohibition; for if our country makes good it will extend its policy around the world, and the liquor traffic will take its place in history with piracy on the high seas, dueling, the African slave trade, chattel slavery, the lottery systems, the

gambling hells, the red light districts, the brewery-owned saloons, and the entire group of giant evils that civilization would tolerate no longer. If we fail, the cause will react upon itself and put every other moral and religious interest back.

III. There is a certain forward step which should be taken. One of the greatest hindrances under which prohibition now operates is that our enforcement officers in given States receive their appointments through the recommendation of United States Senators, and a very few of them without conscience or care succeeded in putting upon the enforcement staff some men who are wet in their views, pro-liquor in their sympathies, and actually antagonistic to the Eighteenth Amendment. There must be a sentiment created that will stamp out this treason, and will make a United States Senator who deliberately secures the appointment of a United States Judge, United States district attorney, or a federal enforcement officer, who is against the law he is sworn to enforce, feel the wrath of the whole people for his betrayal of a sacred trust in thus thwarting the will of the nation

and making easy the violation and possible eventual destruction of its law.

IV. There is another leaf to turn in this volume of enforcement experience. The records show that scores of government representatives, officers of the Enforcement Service, have lost their lives as our representatives trying to have our laws respected. They have been shot down in cold blood, have been run over with high-powered cars, have been burned to death by high-voltage wires set as traps for them, have been poisoned, and every method of devilish ingenuity has been devised to destroy the representatives of this government who enforce prohibition.

When we have sent our men up against this combination we have handicapped them with advice that they shall not shoot or do bodily injury except as a very last resort. When they have in a few instances fired on men resisting arrest and seeking to do them injury, these federal officers have actually been put on trial for murder in the first degree; and some prosecuting attorneys, perjured scoundrels, who were sworn to give aid to the government's agents, but were cham-

pions of the bootleggers, have tried their best to railroad federal officers to the gallows or to the States' prisons for merely enforcing the prohibition law exactly as other officers are enforcing other laws.

In one instance known to the writer, the prosecuting attorney, who made himself notorious by thus prosecuting a federal prohibition officer, was rewarded by the governor of the State with a position on the Circuit Bench. The writer should add, however, that the people of that State adequately attended to that governor's case at the following election.

Now contrast this with the situation in the Postal Department, where there was an average of a hold-up of the mails or an attack upon mail carriers or a robbery of a post-office once a day for a full year, and the crime increasing. But when Mr. Hays was appointed Postmaster General by President Harding, among his first orders was that everybody who carried the mails should be armed, that in the places where these crimes most frequently occurred Marines should be stationed; they were ordered to fire at the

first semblance of an attempt to interfere with the mails of the United States. A reward of $1,000 was offered to those who captured or killed any one interfering with the orderly procession of the mails of the United States, or any one attempting to rob any post-office or carrier; and from that day forth it was eight and a half long months before one single attempt was made to interfere with the mails anywhere in the United States.

So much was due to having a man at the head of a government department; and the next thing that is due in prohibition enforcement is some such manly treatment of the prohibition question in the handling of bootleggers.

It is safe to say that prohibition will never be enforced in this country by either the feeble or the kid-gloved methods that men who do not believe in it have had adopted in their departments, and that if we ever get such a handling as Hays gave the robbers of post-offices and mail carriers, the prohibition law will be as well enforced and the principle as thoroughly respected as any other law of state or nation.

V. The latest problems in enforcing prohibition are:

First, with reference to foreign embassies in this country.

Second, with reference to our own ships, docks, wharves, harbors, and waters within the three-mile limits.

Third, with reference to our right to police the high seas to prevent rum smuggling or the connivance of any foreigners with the criminal element of our country or the co-operation of foreign ships with our bootleggers in violating our law.

There are unquestioned legal precedents for what is said on each of these points. Listen first on the foreign embassies.

1. When Foch came over to visit our country, he did not bring any liquor or drink any while here because, he said, he was going to observe the spirit of the American law. This is a fine example for the embassies which are discourteous when they serve alcoholic drinks to American guests. This is a prohibition nation. They are our guests and they should respect our law. We might send out a general instruction to all our diplomatic officers around

the world that they are not to invite to their functions any American who is known to be engaged in the liquor traffic or in any way connected with it. America has pronounced that a criminal trade. We punish those engaged in it here. Why should we recognize criminals against our law when we representatively go abroad?

2. Another reform that is due is the extension of the full enforcement code to the Philippine Islands, and all our dependencies. And it is just as imperative that we withdraw all protection of the flag of the United States from so-called citizens of the country who have gone to any land or island of the sea to engage in a traffic or to carry on a trade which has been outlawed by the country from which they came.

3. No reason can ever be assigned why our government should involve itself in diplomatic or international troubles in protecting a citizen while doing that abroad which he would be sent to the federal penitentiary for doing at home.

4. We believe that international law will make it clear that no foreign ship has a right

to approach our coasts, enter our harbors, or dock at our wharves, bearing a commodity that has been outlawed by the United States, and defined as a poison by the legislative bodies.

The British Slave Law

We call attention to the fact that after Great Britain had outlawed the slave trade, she had the courage to apply her national doctrine to her ships and to the high seas. She not only enacted that no British vessel flying a British flag should carry a slave, but entered into agreement with other nations to send war-ships to patrol the African coast and to cooperate in the attempt to punish and suppress any one engaging in the nefarious traffic in human beings.

Great Britain would not tolerate that slave ships should enter her waters and continue to hold their cargoes in subjection; and British courts ordered that any slave who had once set foot on British soil was *ipso facto* free. Having come within the jurisdiction of the British Empire they were emancipated forthwith.

The Plimsoll Act

Great Britain put through another reform which resembles the one we are securing. It used to be the custom for dishonest ship owners to insure the cargoes and the hulks of unseaworthy ships, overload them, send them out on the high seas to sink, and then collect and pocket the big insurance and forget about the drowning of the crew. A philanthropist, a member of Parliament, Mr. Plimsoll, urged upon his party, day and night, a law that would stop this crime. The measure known as the Plimsoll Act was eventually adopted, prohibiting vessels loading to a submergence over their load-line mark painted on the side of the ship, "the Plimsoll line." But this law was applied by Great Britain not only to British ships but to the ships of all nations coming into British ports. To save the lives of her sailors she would not let any overloaded vessel go out of her harbor; and to prevent any unfair competition by the ships of other nations who had no such law, she made them conform by refusing them entrance into any dock or harbor if they were not loaded

according to her legal provision. The United States protested that this was an attempt to interfere with shipping, but Great Britain made good her right to use that power over ships of every flag in order to put through this much-needed reform.

Great reforms make new precedents in international relations.

The Harter Act

When we passed the Harter Act, sailors had come into our cities having received advanced pay from foreign ships. They would spend the money in grog shops and then be forcibly taken back to the ships to work out their debt. The advance pay bound them to service, which was economic slavery. These foreign ships came into our harbors, and by this custom of paying in advance were taking seamen away from American ships. To protect our own shipping interests, we passed the Harter Act, which prohibited ships making such contracts with labor within our territory and notified them that we would not recognize those previously made. We went further. If a seaman deserted a foreign

ship in America we protected him, aided him in securing his wages and sustained him in breaking his contract, because we considered that to hold him to it was a deprivation of liberty. In other words, we actually said what foreign ships should do with their own sailors in our ports. We have suddenly become very tender of the feelings of foreign ship owners when we are called upon to enforce our own prohibition amendment.

The Italian Immigrant Ships

There are other instances. We have practically controlled foreign shipping in our docks and harbors. We passed a maritime law that every immigrant brought here should have a certain air space in which to breathe, and any ship loaded with passengers beyond that designated limit was forbidden the rights of our harbors. Even the Italian immigrant ships were required to conform to United States law, and if they crowded beyond that limit we did not permit them to land a single immigrant. America thus controlled the internal arrangements of Italian ships in accordance with our national ideals. Again

national reforms made new international precedents.

America Must Police the Seas

The question is, are we powerless to stop rum-running ships of foreign flags from surrounding our coast and conniving with our lawless element in breaking down the American prohibition law, or can we police the seas, seize the ships, confiscate them and their rum cargoes beyond the three-mile limit? The precedents in international law say we can and ought. America has some rights at sea. Those ships are there for no good purpose. They are there to cooperate with those violating our laws. Other nations are bound to help stop it or permit us to stop it. We should go out and disperse those ships and confiscate them if they do not desist.

Cuban Filibuster Expeditions

In 1850 American citizens fitted out filibustering expeditions against Cuba. Great Britain and France protested to the United States, and notified us that if we let those ships sail they were issuing orders to have the vessels stopped even tho carrying the American

flag; and in 1873, the Virginius, engaged in that trade, was captured by Spain, taken into Havana harbor and both British and American members of the crew were tried and shot. America protested because the ship was under the United States flag, but Britain and France took the position that Spain was perfectly justified in seizing that ship if it was preparing to attack, altho they protested against the unseemly haste of the subsequent executions. The analogies of international law and the law of self-preservation unite in proclaiming that we ought to police that line; and, if we can not prevent liquor from coming in by patrolling our own waters, then we are justified in going beyond them and we can bring in and confiscate the offending ships. Other nations have done that to us. We have reciprocated with them. It is no new principle.

Unjustifiable Hovering

During the late war, while we were still neutral, the Allies' ships were hanging off New York far outside the three-mile limit to catch German ships going in or coming out. We called their presence there "unjustifiable

hovering" and warned them off. With that precedent of our power and authority, what do you think of the statesmanship, the patriotism, or the horse sense of a political leader who says, "We are powerless to stop rum-running ships from hovering about our shores furnishing supplies to bootleggers to violate our laws?"

We are in grave danger of setting up some precedents in making concessions which will come up to plague all future administrations as their turn comes to deal with international relations. Neither the exigencies of national necessity, nor the good-will we bear to the nations of Europe, nor the requirements of international law obligate us to haul down our flag before the rum-runners of other lands who hover about our coasts to sell liquor to bootleggers; and these neighboring nations that owe us nothing but good-will are in the act of conniving with American criminals in the violation of our national law.

The Eighteenth Amendment will justify us in saying that all American ships in whatever waters they float our flag are to be dry territory, and that our merchant marine shall

not be subjected to the unfair and unfriendly competition of vessels of other flags coming into our harbors and docking at our wharves carrying liquor, which is contraband goods, and that we will not tolerate other nations hovering about our coasts to connive with our law-breakers and cooperate with such criminals by exchanging outlawed goods from ship to ship on our waters.

Our Principle Applies Everywhere

We think there is a lesson for the United States in these international precedents when the United States wakes up to a full realization of national prohibition and all its implications.

There are men high in public life who do not see a "striking analogy between the British attitude toward the slave trade and that of regulating personal habits relating to the consumption of beverages." This inability, seems to be the result of muddy thinking, because of a lack of discrimination in the A. B. C.'s of the temperance reform. There are a few definite and incontrovertible propositions which every one ought to master be-

fore attempting to speak or think on a reform like prohibition. They are axiomatic in their clearness and fundamental in their import. One is that alcohol is never a food, but always a poison; that the manufacture and sale of poisons for beverage purposes is never a business but always a crime; that in dealing with the evils incident to the trade we must always distinguish between the private appetite and the public traffic. The private appetite, tho the center of much of the evil, is not to be regulated by law but controlled by education, moral suasion, religious motives, and those of prudence, personal safety, and the exercise of the human will.

The public traffic is in another category and is not susceptible to any of these influences, but is a creature of law and can only be regulated or suppressed by law.

Of course there is no analogy between the British suppression of the slave trade and that of regulating personal habits relating to the consumption of beverages, but there is a perfect analogy between the suppression of the slave trade and the prohibition of the liquor traffic on both land and sea. Our next step

will be the consistent one when we apply our prohibition wherever the flag goes.

United States Has Right to Seize Ships Violating its Laws

Hon. Edward C. Plummer, one of the world's leading maritime international lawyers, who left active practise to become a member of the United States Shipping Board, was recently asked what his opinion was as to the rights of the United States in seizing ships which hover just outside the three-mile limit, laden with contraband liquor. He stated that it was his opinion, and that there was plenty of international law supporting that opinion, that the United States Government had the right to seize such ships.

"Shortly after the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment," said Mr. Plummer, "this same question was submitted to me and I then gave this opinion after careful consideration of the matter. When a vessel of any nationality takes her position off our shores, whether she anchors or is standing 'off and on' beyond the three-mile limit for the purpose of bringing intoxicating liquors into this country in

violation of law, she becomes an international nuisance. She is no longer using the ocean highways for purposes of legitimate commerce, and there will be found in the principles of international law a basis which will enable this country to rid itself of such nuisance. The manner in which the slave traders were dealt with years ago will be readily recalled."

Continuing, Mr. Plummer cited the case of a ship which was seized by the United States about seventy-five years ago. This ship was a gun-runner, carrying the guns to insurgents in Cuba. She was seized eighteen miles at sea and confiscated. The case came up for trial in the courts and it was held that the United States was within her rights as a sovereign nation in seizing such a ship engaged in illegal trade.

Mr. Plummer's view on this question corroborates that of other students of international and maritime law who have investigated this particular matter.

On February 4th, 1923, William Jennings Bryan issued a statement in which he condemned the smuggling in of liquor from foreign countries. He demands the "enforce-

ment of the law in earnest," and intimates that the authorities are inactive against rum-runners along the coast.

Mr. Bryan said:

"The right of the United States to fix the terms and conditions upon which foreign ships can enter our harbors can hardly be disputed, unless a nation loses its sovereignty when it goes dry.

"After a struggle of nearly fifty years the nation, in obedience to an aroused conscience, prohibited the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage. This law extended not only to the land of the United States but to American ships. The United States has a right to protect its homes from the invasion of alcohol as much as it had the right to exclude the slave trade and to outlaw piracy.

"No nation would have attempted to force the slave trade upon the United States after it was abolished, and our nation would not have permitted it if the attempt had been made. It is hardly likely that a slave ship sailing under another flag would have been permitted to come in and out of our ports with slaves

aboard, even tho the ship masters were to agree that the slaves would not be compelled to work within the three-mile limit. Neither would pirates have been permitted to come within or enter our harbors, however solemnly they might have promised to refrain from piracy while under our jurisdiction.

"There is no more reason why we should be timid about the enforcement of our constitution and our laws on the liquor traffic against nations that openly use their flags for the protection of the liquor traffic and for the forcing of liquor upon the country.

"No nation that will permit its flag to protect a rum-runner lying just outside the three-mile limit and plying its trade in an outlaw business can be trusted to compel ships entering our harbors to obey our laws while within our jurisdiction.

"Prohibition is of no value unless it is enforced. If we are going to enforce prohibition we might just as well take up the work courageously; and we will do it whenever those in authority shall resolve that the law is to be enforced, both as against those who hover about the three-mile limit and those

who bring their store of liquor into our harbors.

"What reliance can be placed upon any nation that puts her interest in the liquor traffic above her respect for the laws of a friendly nation? Would a foreign ship owner be allowed to throw up an island at some shallow spot just outside the three-mile limit and open a bar there? If not, why allow him to anchor his ship there and run his bar on a floating island? The three-mile limit was intended for the protection of legitimate trade, not for the protection of criminals. It is worse than mockery for the authorities to remain inactive while this open defiance goes on every day just outside the three-mile limit.

"Suppose our nation prohibited the sale and carrying of firearms under the American flag. Would the makers of Europe be permitted to open up gun shops along our coast and sell to smugglers? Alcohol is more of a menace than a pistol or gun in the hands of a sober man. The latter is not so much of a menace to peace and order as alcohol that converts a sober man into a madman.

"It is time to quit looking for objections and

begin the enforcement of the law in earnest."

Representative Summers, of Washington, has introduced a bill authorizing the government to make use of naval ships in abating the nuisance of smuggling rum, narcotics, and aliens. There is no reason why the government should not take this step without particular authority from Congress, but unless it does so there is every reason why Congress should grant that authority at an early date.

We have the support of Prof. Ellery C. Stowell, perhaps the leading authority on Admiralty law and a professor in the American University, who says that the United States has a right to take any measures which are absolutely necessary to protect its vital interests.

As for any talk of cannon fire, that is abysmal nonsense. When a rum smuggler gets orders from the deck of a United States destroyer, he will obey them. Nor will the governments of Great Britain or France be able to combat the American policy. In the first place, their people would not allow it. In the second place, they are under a heavy debt of gratitude to us. In the third place, we

would be right and on sound legal ground while they would be wrong.

The authors believe that close relations and warm friendship between the British Empire and the United States is the great hope of civilization. The convictions of these two peoples are rooted in exactly the same thing. There may be differences in international policy and will be, but these differences should be avoided where possible.

This friendship, so essential to the world, should be supported by the utmost frankness. There have been times when misrepresentations of British policy in the United States and unchecked interference in British internal affairs have gravely embarrassed the British government and distressed those British people who are not yet hardened to unfair criticism.

The British government and the British people should know that the prohibitionists of the United States comprise that element of the population with a natural sympathy for the British people. Almost to the last ten thousand the men and women of Colonial stock are prohibitionists. Almost to the last million

the immigrants and sons of immigrants who have become thoroughly Americanized are prohibitionists.

The British government should take action which is dictated by common sense and common decency. The American government should take action, which it has every right under international law to take, and that action should be taken without delay.

IX

THE FUTURE OF THE MOVEMENT

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For fifty years the prohibition movement has been under way. Beaten back by many a blast, threatened by many an angry wave, endangered by reef and shoals with wind and tide both against her, she has weathered all storms, made sea amidst the gale and reaching port at last she is anchored in the federal government on the rock-base of the constitution.

It is well known that there have been two prohibition movements in a century. The first was culminating just before the Civil War, but it was faultily constructed, poorly managed, and side-tracked during the anti-slavery struggle and the war period.

The new ship was constructed differently, better manned and better managed. It was not set aside by the World War but was used as a preparation for efficiency in that war. The Civil War destroyed an incipient prohibi-

tion; the World War situation utilized prohibition and helped to win success by it. War prohibition came in with a claim that it would make better men—stronger, cleaner, firmer, manlier men. Did it do it? Here is a world demonstration for you:

Our boys came back from the front having made a wonderful record. They went across the cleanest army that ever went to battle. They came back strong and with high American ideals. The claims of the brewers were put to a world test. When our boys from thirty prohibition States and all from prohibition training camps, total abstainers every one, representing a nation that had gone from local option to State prohibition, and then to national prohibition imbedded in its constitution, selected men from our cleanest and best—when this first total abstinence army, every man trained in a dry camp to represent the first prohibition nation of the world, went up against the most notorious beer guzzlers of the ages, and, tho Germany had the greatest war machine of the world and a training for military prowess never equalled, and the start of all the nations in their surprize attack, the

evidence is overwhelming, and I believe the ex-Kaiser would admit it, that the beer-drinking German, man for man, was no match for the American prohibition soldier.

That was a world test that will have its influence upon the nations. The moral philosophy of this victory I will let two experts explain.

Two years before the World War, ex-Kaiser Wilhelm said: "Battles of the next war will be settled by nerves. Nerves are continually undermined by alcohol. The nation that uses the least alcohol will win the next war. The people who use the most alcohol will be the first to go down."

Next listen to Major-General Leonard Wood: "This remarkable result in cleanliness, health, and quick results coordinating hand and foot with brain, making a soldier in less than four months' training, is due to the dry environment of our camps. Nothing was of more far-reaching effects than doing away with alcohol."

Twelve years ago there were only six States dry; no State was very dry, for the old prohibition laws leaked like a sieve. The

very term "bone dry" was not applied to prohibition until the *Methodist Clipsheet* of May 4, 1916, came out with the phrase and demanded that all future legislation should be "bone dry," to describe a type of legislation which nowhere existed, but which meant stopping the manufacture, sale, importation, exportation, transportation, even across State lines. Oregon and Arizona took the hint and put "bone dry" prohibition in their constitutions on the 7th of November 1916. In January, 1917, sixteen additional State legislatures followed this example; and in February Congress passed the "bone dry" law stopping interstate shipment of intoxicants into dry territory. Then the weak and unsatisfactory amendment which was known as the Hobson Resolution was put under the table, and with perfect unanimity the reformers agreed upon a "bone dry" constitutional amendment; and it was adopted by a two-thirds vote of both Houses of Congress, and went out to the State legislatures for ratification. There it met the overwhelming acceptance of the people's sentiment and in a breath-taking speed ran its course through forty-five State legis-

latures, the forty-sixth being added soon. When the corrupt political machines that have held Rhode Island and Connecticut under the strangle hold of the brewer's domination are broken, those two little States will join their sisters, for the signs of the times proclaim that we are going to have a dry United States and a dry world. The lapse of New York we refuse to believe other than temporary and political.

America Leads

As never before, the eyes of the world are upon the United States of America, and what Kansas and North Dakota did for the States, America will do for the nations, namely, show them that a great people can grow and prosper, educate their children, run their government, pay their war debt, pave the streets, and build their institutions without the help of a single tainted dollar of liquor revenue in their treasury; and in addition help to make the whole people happy and sober, law-abiding and prosperous. It can not be stopped.

The prohibition movement has back of it two generations of scientific instruction in

the public schools, three generations of quarterly temperance lessons in the Sunday-schools, total abstinence pledge-signing and temperance preaching from the pulpits, daily observation of the effect of strong drink upon the mind and body, business rising up in wrath to protest against the inroads of the saloon upon the rights of all legitimate enterprises, and the effect of drinking on all kinds of employees and the debauching effects of drink upon all kinds of patrons.

This prohibition movement then is not a spasm but an avalanche, and it will not be stopped. We must make this national and international series of victories a world conquest.

First, because of the oneness of the human race. "God made of one every nation of men to dwell on all the face of the earth."

Both prohibition and antiprohibition are like Bolshevism in that they are so aggressive they must conquer the world or die in the world. Reforms like bicycle riders topple over if they stop. They must keep moving. If the prohibitionists cease to keep moving, the antiprohibitionists will win the fight.

A prominent antiprohibitionist wrote an article in 1920 urging a strict enforcement believing that it would lead to a reaction against the law. If we can get a strict enforcement of "bone dry" prohibition we will risk all the reactions. The only thing that turns people against prohibition is non-enforcement. A strict enforcement always pleases the drys and convinces the wets that prohibition is just what they need.

Second, if prohibition is a good thing for the United States it is a good thing for England, France, Germany, and every other country. If it is a bad thing, it would have been found out before this day. It had been tried out by thirty-one States and the results were found out before it was made national. The effort of certain New York newspapers to prove that prohibition was an untried experiment put over on them while they were asleep, when thirty-one States were dry and cities like Detroit, Denver, Portland, Seattle, were prospering under it, it is amusing. Wherever prohibition has been tried it has won its way and usually doubled its majorities on the first test vote afterward. It is the ex-

perience of all States. They go dry, try prohibition a little while; at the next election the brewers try to come back but are voted down in every instance, in majorities of from two to four times the original, as in Ohio, Michigan, Oregon, and many others.

The necessity of extending prohibition is twofold, in Europe and South America, because we are welding our ideals and standards of conduct with theirs. Eventually the world must reach one standard. The increasing unity of social and intellectual life as well as of trade relations make it impossible for the civilized world to remain half drunk and half sober, as we found it impossible for a similar state of affairs to continue in this country. One State would saturate the fringes of the dry States around it.

Again, in Asia and Africa, either prohibition must become a part of the missionary program or the whole program becomes susceptible of suspicions of insincerity. In the London *Times* of January 23, 1919, Dr. Matthews states that, "Two days ago an intelligent, well-read, Christian gentleman told me that missionaries ought to be stopped because they are

opening up countries to the evils of civilization like gin and syphilis; and there are evils enough in the world without our carrying ours across to the pure heathen."

Every obligation that kept us at work sacrificing, planning, giving, risking everything to win prohibition for the United States, now under the larger interpretation of neighborliness and Christian brotherhood obligates us to assist other nations in extending it to the world around. Not only that, but the aggressive efforts of the American liquor trust to put intoxicating liquor into every home of the Orient makes the citizens of a Christian republic, as well as the members of the Christian Church, feel that we ought to do our utmost to counteract those baleful influences represented by organized efforts to take the very vices we are suppressing, one by law and the other by education and moral suasion, and make them an integral part of the civilization of China. We will not stand by and see mankind debauched for dividends by those corrupt agencies of our own countries. The Chinese, the Japanese, and the Africans make the appeal of brotherhood to

us; and whether we are good Christians or good Americans we are men and shall rouse ourselves to end this world-wide conquest of evil.

For a long period after the war it was difficult to get passports. Many well-meaning citizens could not secure the right to voyage either east or west, and before a missionary could leave this country he had to raise his hand to heaven and swear that he went to preach the Gospel of good-will and to do nothing else; was required to sign his name to various documents designated by the government before he could go and have Old Glory float over him for his protection.

During that period, if the administration had had the right attitude toward this world movement, when a pro-German beer exploiter held up his hand before Uncle Sam and said: "I vant to go to China to open up mine pig brewery in dat land and sell mine beer to the heathen," Uncle Samuel should have said to him, "No sir. You are an outlaw here. You have debauched mankind long enough in your own country. My flag shall not protect you while debasing our weaker brothers. You

shall not press upon the brow of China this outlawed crown of thorns; you shall not crucify mankind upon your cross of greed; you shall not misrepresent American civilization among the child races of the world. You shall not pass."

We have a mission and a message to all lands. We shall demonstrate that a nation can live on clean money without putting up the souls of its citizens for sale for the blood-money of a liquor license. The United States is "called" to make that demonstration before the world. And the nations need the lesson.

If the wets have a right to go to every land to misrepresent America in foreign ears, the drys have a duty, patriotic and moral, to go and defend her. If our Allies, who were so ready to listen to us on everything else, and have listened to paid liars for four years telling how drunkenness has increased under prohibition, will lend us their ears they will discover how thoroughly deceived they have been and will react as several of our States did, when they learned of a like deception, and never believe damp statistics again. "He that hath an ear, let him hear."

Sir George Paish, one of the leading economists of England said:

"Prohibition is an economic question. There are two reasons for this. First, we must admit the working classes will command, from now on, a greater share of the world's goods than they have been getting before. Secondly, the difficulty of securing capital from the classes that formerly supplied capital will be exceedingly difficult because of taxes and fear of the future. Therefore, unless the working people make savings and provide capital, world business will be at a standstill. They can only make savings by denying themselves pleasures, which include drink. In England to-day they spend from £400,000,000 to £500,000,000 on drink. If half that amount was saved in England and elsewhere among the nations the problems of the world would be solved. As an economist I consider prohibition is necessary and inevitable."

Prohibition stands shoulder to shoulder with peace as the twin giants who can solve the world's problems. The spectacular character of the great waste of war, the fact that its waste is principally crowded into a few short hectic years, drives home to the conviction of the world the truth that if war could be banished all other problems might be solved. But the drink evil is as great a drain

on the wealth and life of the world as war. When the guns were thundering on the western front Lloyd George said, "We are fighting three enemies, Germany, Austria, and drink, and to my mind drink is the greatest of the three." It was literally true. If Great Britain and the other Allied countries could have banished the evil of alcoholism for the period of the war, victory over Germany and Austria would have been assured without the intervention of the United States.

A cancer is none the less dangerous to life because it does not act with the speed of the destructive lightning bolt. War is the lightning bolt but drink is the cancer. It spreads its murder over the years and scatters its waste from generation to generation.

The crux of the world problem to-day is economic. If Europe could banish its expenditures either for military establishments or for alcohol there would be no serious economic problems and the greater relief would come from the cessation of the traffic in drink. For instance, France in 1921 spent thirteen and a half billion francs for alcoholic liquor. French expenditures for the army and navy,

altho not accurately known at present, were not more than five billion francs; at least it is certain that the sum for such purposes was far below the drink expenditure.

The one obstacle to world-wide prohibition is the failure of the people to realize the enormity of the drink waste. They are inclined to think of it as a comparatively small matter, an incidental of life, whereas in fact it is in most cases the major expenditure and overtops all other wastes, as the Matterhorn overtops the knoll in a pasture.

Switzerland, in 1919, spent 746,000,000 francs for drink; Holland 300,000,000 florins; Great Britain spent the equivalent in 1920 of more than $2,000,000,000, despite the fact that the British population is only a little more than a third of the population of the United States; tiny Belgium spent 1,500,000,000 francs; Roumania 2,000,000,000 lei; Germany, in 1922, spent 194,400,000,000 marks, which sum is difficult to convert into dollars because of the fluctuating exchange; in 1921 Austria spent 282,004,232,000 crowns or, at that time, approximately $52,000,000.

Thus for these seven countries, with an ag-

gregate population of roughly 168,000,000 inhabitants, the world supports a drink expenditure of approximately $4,180,900,000.

It does not require economic experience to be sure of the fact that the addition of this sum to the channels of legitimate trade in these seven countries would almost, if not quite, bring the solution of economic problems in sight.

Other countries of Europe are making similar expenditures which in every case contrast in a most depressive way with expenditures for bread, milk, and public instruction. Italy, according to Professor Ugo Giusti, Director of the Official Census, in 1920, spent 8,000,000,000 lire for wine, and the additional expenditure for beer and alcohol probably reached the sum of 400,000,000 lire. The expenditure for wine equalled the expenditure for wheat and was nearly ten times the budget of the Ministry of Public Instruction (856,000,000 lire) for 1920 and 1921.

In Switzerland expenditures for alcoholic beverages just about equalled the total expenditures for bread and milk in 1921 and was nearly four times as great as the expendi-

ture for public instruction. In spite of the fact that Czecho-Slovakia is grappling earnestly with the drink problem, the total expenditure for alcoholic beverages in that country in 1921 was approximately 5,030,787,400 kronin, which was more than one-fourth the total state receipts of 18,810,000,000 kronin. Bulgaria spends 3,750,000,000 levas for bread, 2,866,000,000 levas for meat, and 432,100,000 levas for public instruction and 2,792,850,000 for alcoholic drinks.*

Despite world-wide misrepresentation prohibition is taking root abroad in many countries and it is apparent that it will eventually "go around the world."

Even in Great Britain where misrepresentation as to prohibition in America is systematically and heavily financed, where opponents pretend not to take the movement for British prohibition seriously, altho they spend millions in combating it, the mass of the middle class population, led by public-spirited business men

* These figures were secured by Dr. Robert Hercod, Director of the International Bureau Against Alcoholism, at Lausanne, Switzerland, in all cases from official and reliable sources.

of international reputation and members of the aristocracy who hold their country's future more important than the demands of appetite or the profits of the moment, are slowly being convinced that Britain must be dry in order to meet its economic and industrial problems.

Scotland has won the right of local option and has already exercised it in various areas where public houses are now closed.

In Ireland, Ulster has just taken its first step toward prohibition by closing public houses within certain areas on Sunday.

In England the churches have organized to demand substantial reform in the conduct of the liquor business. A prohibitionist of the most radical character has been elected to Parliament and over the entire country the prohibition minority is fast recruiting its numbers.

In northern continental Europe strenuous efforts were made after the coming of prohibition to America to use the mass of falsehood emanating from American wet forces for the destruction of the virile prohibition sentiment of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, and Iceland. France and Spain have

also exerted strong diplomatic pressure to compel modification of prohibitory laws in Scandinavian countries.

Sweden defeated the prohibitionists in a referendum by a margin, which was small, and the Swedish antiprohibitionists gloated loud and long over their victory, but to their astonishment found the prohibition movement more vigorous after its defeat than before. The Liberal Party has now adopted prohibition as a part of its program and the issue will be forced to a decision once again in the near future.

Switzerland also rejected a scheme for a revision of the governmental attitude toward the alcohol trade, but the abstainers of that little country were rather heartened by the large vote polled than disheartened by the defeat, and they are now preparing to organize an ardent campaign for a poll on the issue of local option as applied to distilled liquors. This question will be submitted next year to the vote of the people.

In France and Belgium, while there is practically no prohibition sentiment, the campaign for abstinence is making great headway, and

in Holland a radical form of local option is in prospect.

Perhaps the most active prohibition movement in Europe is to be found in the central area. In Germany, hundreds of thousands of voters recently petitioned the Reichstag for local option and various industrial communities of great size have informally voted for total prohibition.

In Austria, Hungary, and Czecho-Slovakia, prohibition sentiment is penetrating the schools and is being directed by men of international reputation representing every class and creed. Vigorous and sustained educational propaganda on a large scale is being carried on.

The same is true of Poland and the Baltic states.

The prohibition idea is also boring into the East. In India prohibition sentiment is so widespread and determined that there is a strong prospect that India will go dry within the next five years. The Methodist Church especially is pushing the campaign of education and is receiving the support of native and European groups.

In Japan also, a strong prohibition movement is arising, and the fact that it is having its beginning in the schools and colleges gives peculiar promise for eventual triumph.

In South America the prohibition sentiment has advanced parallel with the liberal sentiment. The governments of Chile, Uraguay, and other countries are distinctly friendly toward the prohibition idea and are encouraging a widespread prohibition educational effort which, indeed, received official approval from the recent Pan-American Conference. The government of Mexico is also in a most friendly frame of mind.

On the whole, the first effect of American prohibition on all of these countries was unfavorable because of the extensive misrepresentation. Now, however, the truth is beginning to penetrate the conspiracy of falsehood and silence and the immense benefits to America are becoming known. America is also taking a prominent part in the prohibition movement in all lands, holding this to be due as a tribute of friendship. The Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church is now

maintaining twenty-one paid representatives in other countries. Other American organizations are also cooperating.

Prohibition can not stop because it has conscience behind it. It will encircle the globe and spread its mantle of prosperity and happiness over every land.

We ask the consideration of the average man for the facts presented in this book. If casual consideration or hostile propaganda had lead you to believe that prohibition was "put over" by trickery, consider the facts, and we believe that you must revise your opinion. If you have been inclined to feel that prohibition is an unwarranted interference with your personal right to determine what you shall eat and drink yourself, consider the vast economic aspects of the trade in alcoholic liquors, and we believe you will be led to the conclusion that it is your duty as a patriotic citizen to tolerate personal inconvenience with equanimity in order that the nation as a whole may deal effectively with the great waste and ruin of a social evil.

Probably you are better placed in life than most of your fellow citizens. America has been good to you. Under the protection of its laws you have acquired your property and are assured of safety for your family. Do you not owe some return to the people as a political body? Can you encourage or condone violation of the prohibition law without imperiling that social stability which is even to-day protecting you and your property interests from Bolshevism? If in fact the prohibition law should in time prove to be a mistake, there is a way in which that mistake can be remedied, but that way is not to be found in evasion or legal fiction. The prohibition law was honestly passed and can only be displaced by methods equally honest.

Prohibition is the policy of America, and loyalty is the policy of every right-thinking American.

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